

THE DAWN OF MODERN ADMINISTRATION

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(Thomsonian Era—1843-53)

By

D. AWASTHI

M.A., Ph.D., D. LITT.

Deptt. of History

University of Kurukshetra (Haryana)



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FOREWORD

In the past few years the trend of historical research has drifted in an appreciable measure to the analysis and delineation of administrative changes occurring in the last century in India. It is a welcome tendency for it diverts the attention of historians from wars, palace intrigues and diplomatic tangles to the healthier pursuits of improving the lot of the people who are the real objects of historical investigation. Modern Indian history provides a rich field for study of administrative developments. Initially this process began with the examination of Central structure, but later provinces (the modern States) drew attention and some useful work has been conducted in this sphere. Dr. Awasthi's thesis on the administrative innovations in the present Uttar Pradesh introduced in the regime of Sir James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, from 1843 to 1853, is a valuable addition to literature on this subject. The author has conducted a critical study of the various phases of administration which bore the impress of Thomason's personality and has admirably evaluated the contribution of the Lt.-Governor and, unlike a biographer, has drawn a balance-sheet of its healthy features and its drawbacks. Dr. Awasthi's judgment, critical assessment of source material and skill in narration are fully evidenced in his book.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century in India witnessed the application of principles of Utilitarianism. The slogan of Bentham, Mills or Macaulay was the greatest good of the greatest number. Their object was the improvement of the condition of the mass of people, and in the Indian context Utilitarianism aimed at the removal of social evils, administrative corruption and educational backwardness. Another group which was simultaneously active was that of the Evangelicals, whose basic purpose was the propagation of Christian faith which for them would open the path of progress and prosperity for the heathen inhabitants of this land. To both these groups, contemporary Western Culture was superior to the traditional learning and age-old culture of the Indian people. This Western Culture composed of Renaissance thought, new scientific concepts and technological inventions was sought to be imposed

on the Indian people through the cultivation of English language. To Macaulay the entire range of Sanskrit literature was not worth a shelf of English literature. Rationalisation of Indian mind and purging of Indian society of its corrupt social institutions, religious practices and superstitions was, according to these English liberals, possible only through the introduction of Western education through the medium of English language. Another ideology which intruded itself in Indian administration was the principle of free trade adumbrated by Adams and the physiocratic thought as preached by Ricardo. These two processes of thought had their repercussion on the industry and agriculture of this country and were responsible in the long run for ruination in both these fields and persistent impoverishment of the Indian people in the first half of the nineteenth century, and were perhaps the foremost factors leading to the great Revolt of 1857 and the initiation of the national movement for freedom in India.

It is in the background of these forces that one has to study the achievements of Sir James Thomason. Along with Metcalfe, he is rightly considered as the architect of the administrative system which developed in the North-Western Province, the cell which later grew into the present Uttar Pradesh. This part of the country had suffered the ravages of anarchy following the disruption and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The political chaos had naturally thrown out of gear the revenue system, particularly proprietorship of land, disturbed the instruments of education, unhinged sense of security, destroyed means of communication and disrupted the entire machinery of law and order. Robbers, dacoits, thugs and thieves infested the roads and made life unsafe in the towns and villages. Above all, the priests and professors of religion demoralised the credulous, ignorant and fear-stricken people, both men and women, and plied their trade to the economic and moral decline of the community. Conditions as these demanded the hand of an enlightened ruler, gifted with a sense of understanding, missionary zeal and strength of character to uproot the evils and build a structure capable of promoting prosperity. Thomason, in a way, attempted to improve things, and his contribution in the sphere of land revenue administration, promotion of popular education and development of communications did mark a step forward. His knowledge of the province where he served at the level of the district fitted him admirably "to guide the destinies of the province."

In respect of land revenue administration, Thomason had to clean the mess left by Bird's settlement of 1832, which was marked

by over-assessment, "uncertainty regarding the liabilities of the agriculturists", extortionate collection of revenue, threat of ejectment and increasing poverty of the cultivator. The settlement benefited the money-lender. Dr. Awasthi has rightly assessed its consequences. He says, "The changes in the landownership following the reforms provided the English capital with the extraction of marketable produce of agriculture as a result of intensification of the feudal exploitation of the peasantry. The decay of feudal relation too had begun. A sign of this was the weakening of the non-economic compulsion and the destruction of the community order in landownership. A still further exploitation of peasantry as a result of conversion of the country into a market for the manufactured goods and source of raw materials, brought havoc and mass hunger." Thomason grew conscious of the drawbacks of the system inaugurated by Bird and realised that most of the evils flowed from the fixation of Government demand at a high level. Therefore, in his new Regulations, he fixed the State share at 66 per cent or two-thirds of the net produce. It was high and was later reduced to half, but was some relief. The second reform which he introduced was to recognise the hereditary proprietors of land and the existence of communal holdings. The settlement of revenue was made by *Mahal*, an arbitrary unit of assessment, which might be part of a village or comprise many of them. Both these measures were an improvement on the existing system but according to the author, were not free from defects. "First that the fixing of the land-tax for an entire fiscal area like a *pargana* was more or less guesswork; secondly, the land-tax amounting to two-thirds of the nett-produce was excessive and proved to be a crushing burden to the landlords and cultivators." The rules framed in 1855 remedied these defects.

Thomason was also responsible for reorganising the educational structure of the province. By the time of his appointment, English education had assumed major proportions in the Presidency Towns, but had not penetrated deeply the north-western provinces. Of course some schools had been opened in big towns but their impact was not widespread. The priestly classes were hostile to new education and the upper strata of society was too closely attached to indigenous educational system to take kindly to the missionary directed education in English. At the same time, the revenue system demanded a large army of lower functionaries like *patwaris*, *kanoon-gos*, etc., who had to transact business in the local language. Thomason realised, therefore, the need of proper training of that section of the community from which such officials might be drawn. Hence

he instituted the system of **Tahsil (Halkabandi)** schools where education was imparted through the regional language. This did not preclude the extension of new education schools and colleges, which were gradually expanding. However, the value of Thomason's experiment, as that of Elphinstone in western India, was that it pointed the way for the organisation proposed by Wood in his Despatch of 1854: Thomason had also introduced the rudiments of inspectorial system. His educational experiments, based as these were on the recognition of the existing schools and adoption of regional language as the medium of instruction, were in direct contrast to the Bengal system relying on the Filtration Theory which was found by him to be infructuous. Thomason's scheme of educational reforms was calculated to lead to mass education at low cost and was therefore, commended by Dalhousie to the Court of Directors. Wood's Despatch incorporated these plans; but the high expectations of the spread of education were not fulfilled.

Thomason established the engineering school at Roorkee, which has now developed into a University, to train Indian lower officers to assist in the project of Ganga Canal adopted at that time. It was a useful venture. His efforts to utilise the major rivers of the province for irrigational purposes resulted in the opening of Ganga Canal and East Jamuna Canal, which laid the foundations for the later network of canals in North India. He also helped in repairing old roads, and building new ones. This was essential for facilitating military movement to the western frontier at a time when the north-west witnessed a series of wars, as Afghan War, Sind War and Panjab Wars.

Thomason exerted himself with single-minded devotion to the improvement of administration and thereby strengthening the foundation of British rule in India. He was no radical but tried "to harmonize the age-old Indian traditions with the requirements of a progressive administration." His task was to graft the modern on the old stem, for in this method alone did he see the security of the empire he served. Thomason belonged to that class of rulers whose eye was on every detail and who wished to do well with the people. It is, therefore, apt that he be classed with that band of illustrious administrators who illuminated the later years of Company's rule in India. Yet Thomason failed to observe the intense hatred of foreign rule, that smouldering fire which was burning beneath the surface and that storm which was soon to burst forth in the Revolt of 1857.

This book is a valuable contribution to historical literature and will, I am sure, help in a proper understanding of the evolution of administrative system under British rule in India.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Former Professor and Head of the
Department of History,
Delhi University, Delhi.

PREFACE

"The three hundred and fifty years the English spent in India," says Philip Woodruff, "make one story, but a story which unfolds itself like a stage play in a series of acts." This play, sometimes tragic, sometimes comic, but eventually ending in tragi-comedy, produced both positive and negative results of momentous significance. In the heat and turbulence of the day it was well-nigh impossible to measure the magnitude of the results with any pretension to scientific accuracy. Now, however, from a distance the perspective is clear and an attempt is being made to evaluate the results.

Negatively, the British rule in India kept people chained in slavery and made them forget their sense of honour and responsibility. It tainted the blood corpuscles of Indian society and exercised an immense demoralising effect on its body-politic. It reduced the entire economic structure of the country to an amorphous shambles. Even traditional institutions and methods for deciding and settling disputes did not escape the pernicious contagion.

True though that in clipping the wings of the "golden bird," the overzealous hands of the white masters inflicted untold violence on its venerable body, but to overlook the humanitarian reforms that were set afoot during the British regime in India or to ignore the restraining influences that were operating simultaneously would inevitably result in a travesty of historical facts. The prime need of the muse of Indian history today is to discard political blinkers and coloured glasses of flagrant racialism so as to delineate the dynamic episodes of those distant days without loading the dice.

It is difficult to affirm fully that humanitarian reforms and philanthropic processes accomplished or set afoot by the British in India were the outcome of enlightened self-interest, but it cannot be denied that the Company had stationed in our country a team of astute administrators, some of whom at least, prompted by innate benevolence, moderated the zeal for unscrupulous exploitation and

thus prevented the massacre of the hen that laid the golden eggs. But for them perhaps the story of Modern India would have been written in a substantially different way.

The unflagging industry and incessant efforts of these officers in streamlining the administrative machinery and in reorientating the Indian economy call for accolade from the impartial historian. Among these reputed worthies, a place of honour is merited by Sir **James Thomason** who administered the North-Western Provinces from 1843 to 1853. The period of his administration, which is the subject of a critical study of the present work, was notable in more ways than one. It was a decade which saw the spectacular rise of the British Empire from insignificant beginnings. It was a decade during which three eminent Governors-General—**Lord Ellenborough**, **Lord Hardinge** and **Lord Dalhousie**—were at the helm of affairs in India. It was also a decade which was perilously close to the drama of 1857, whose main locale was none else than the region administered by Thomason.

Thomason who had to steer clear off the multitudinous administrative problems and explosive political situations did not act as a spineless stooge of the imperialist colonisers, nor did he obey their behests without evaluating their flaws and intrinsic merits vis-a-vis the conditions then obtaining in the North-Western Provinces. He discharged the onerous responsibilities of his office with an unpretentious dignity and always bore in his heart the benevolent attitude of a social reformer towards the unlettered millions in his administrative care.

In the course of ten years of his Lieutenant-Governorship he laid the foundations of elementary and technical education, sound system of irrigation facilities, public works and revenue settlement. He sponsored a variety of technological projects for the betterment of the Indian economy and implemented a mammoth irrigation complex, the **Ganga Canal**, in the teeth of official and non-official opposition. The network of the Ganga Canal waterways and the **Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee** (at present Roorkee University) constitute an eloquent monument to his memory. No other administrator piloted the affairs of a province so successfully and for such a long spell during the pre-Revolt period.

Warren Hastings' administration lasted for as many as thirteen years, but unlike him, Thomason did not entangle himself in the maze of diplomacy or war. He had no dissenting Council to dispute every action he took. He had his own special system. There

might have been no ostentatious exhibition of sympathy, but his compassion was manifested in every administrative measure to which he was a party. His zeal for good works and philanthropic efforts has been aptly described as "a slow fire burning unceasingly and inextinguishably."² His master impulse was to put "his own shoulder to the wheel, and his own hand to the plough."³ In fact he found the province as a raw brick and left it as an appreciable piece of marble.

The length of time over which his period of office extended luckily gave him unique opportunities to familiarise himself with the needs of the people and the social mores that coloured the outlook of the traditional orthodoxy; and as a result of a prolonged study of the prevailing social and political milieu, he evolved a policy whose corner-stone was to support the old institutions and to discourage every innovation that was likely to offend the susceptibilities of the people. Still he was no obscurantist or one opposed to any progressive or reformatory measures. It was his constant aim to introduce, though cautiously and gradually, measures and schemes that were likely to usher in an era of peace and prosperity. Grim destiny, however, cheated him by substituting for his dream of peace and tranquillity a nightmare of anarchy and lawlessness in the days that followed his regime.

It is true that some of the steps taken by Thomason might have precipitated the explosive events of 1857, but it has to be conceded that he bestowed his utmost attention and energy primarily on the social reconstruction and economic rehabilitation of the territory under his jurisdiction. For these uphill tasks he enlisted the support of the local people and made every effort to utilise local talent. It was in conformity with this policy that he took a lively interest in the training of subordinate personnel. The galaxy of European officers also such as John and Henry Lawrence, William Muir, John Strachey, Robert Montgomery and John Walter Sherer, who manned the British administration in the days that followed received training in the unlegislated academy of Thomason. Their impeccable efficiency in the troublous days of 1857 speaks volumes about Thomason's administrative acumen. It was recognised by Dalhousie who, in 1849 when the Punjab was made a separate province, insisted that the organization of the new administration should be

2. Temple R., James Thomason, p. 97.

3. Ibid., loc. cit.

entrusted to some of those who had been trained under Thomason's supervision.⁴ Actually, administration was a hobby with Thomason and it was in pursuit of this hobby that in 1832 he was transferred at his own request from the post of Secretary to the office of Magistrate and Collector at Azamgarh.⁵ The latter post ranked lower in official hierarchy, but Thomason got himself transferred to it so that he could enrich his experience and practical knowledge of district work in living contact with the people of the area.

To size up the personality of Thomason some desultory efforts have already been made. A few treatises such as those of William Muir, Richard Temple and William W. Hunter, are at best biographical sketches. The unstinted admiration of Thomason in these works does not find at many places the support of the facts of history. In the preparation of the present work reliance has been placed mostly on such primary sources as had never seen the light of the day. The picture that emerges from this study is very different from that drawn by Muir, Temple and Hunter. Parliamentary Papers and other printed documents used here and there have been taken into account only after careful sifting. No statement of any secondary authority has been used unless it is supported by documentary evidence. To quote Sir Winston S. Churchill, "I have tried as far as possible to tell the story through the lips of its actors or from the pens of contemporary writers, feeling sure that a phrase out at the time is worth many coined afterwards."⁶

Before concluding these preliminary remarks, however, I must acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude which I owe to my examiners Dr. C. H. Phillips, Director, Institute of African and Oriental Studies, London, Dr. C. C. Davies, Reader in Modern Indian History, Balliol College, Oxford, and Dr. Ishwari Prasad, ex-Professor and Head of History and Political Science Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad, for their valuable suggestions for improving this thesis. I also gratefully acknowledge the sympathy and consideration of Shri S. Awasthi (my brother), Dr. K. K. Shukla and Sri V. N. Datta who found time to help me with their valuable suggestions. I am indebted to Miss J. C. Lancaster, Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library, London, for her quick despatches, of the

4. Woodruff, P., *op. cit.*, p. 303.

5. *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 476.

6. Churchill, W.S., *Marlborough*, II, Intro, p. 22.

microfilm copies of Thomason's private correspondence. Friends at the National Library, Calcutta, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh Records Room, Allahabad, Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow, and British Council Library, New Delhi, were of immense help to me. It is difficult to express my gratitude to Dr. R. N. Nagar, Professor of Modern Indian History at Lucknow University, but for whose unstinted guidance this work could never have been completed.

AUTHOR.

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CHAPTER I

Introducing the Young Civilian

Heredity

Born in Little Shelford near Cambridge on May 3, 1804, James Thomason was the only son of Thomas Truebody Thomason from his wife Elizabeth Fawcett of Scaleby Castle, the daughter of a clergyman in Cumberland.¹ Thomas T. Thomason, who served as a tutor at Queen's College, Cambridge, and a Curate to Charles Simeon, then much occupied in parochial affairs, accepted a Chaplaincy in Bengal in 1808.² He arrived in India with his wife and four year old son, James, towards the close of 1808, and joined as Chaplain of the Kiernander's Mission Church at Calcutta.³ He became distinguish-

1. James had three sisters also—Frances, Eliza and Esther—married to Sir Robert Montgomery of the Civil Service, Major Hutchinson of the Bengal Engineers and Major Stephen respectively. Vide Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682; also the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, pp. 472-473; also Committee of College References No. 32 of 1820; also Temple, R., James Thomason, pp. 63 to 66.

2. Sargent, J., Life of T. T. Thomason (1774-1829); pp. 141-42.

3. While on his way to India Thomas T. Thomason had experienced at the Sandheads, the fearful peril of shipwreck. Early in the morning the ship struck on a reef, off the eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal and in a few minutes the 'Travers' went to pieces. Mr. Thomas T. Thomason with his wife and son, half-naked and drenched, escaped with difficulty and danger in the ship's boats, to the 'Earl of Spencer' which providentially was near at hand. It is also interesting to note that during the four months' period of voyage, Thomas T. Thomason had prosecuted his oriental studies and had become proficient in the Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages, attaining ultimately a high degree of scholarship. Even more interesting is to know that among their fellow-passengers were Mr. and Mrs. William Grant, who become specially related to the Thomasons, vide Sargent, J., op. cit., p. 142; also Carus, Life of Charles Simeon, p. 260; also Hampton, H.V., Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education, p. 188.

ed as a good preacher and a devoted clergyman in India very soon. Some of his intimate friends in India were David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martin and Lord Moira (First Marquis of Hastings).⁴ Temple's impression about Thomas T. Thomason's performance in India is quite interesting. He writes :

"His official work was among the Civil Servants, the Lawyers, the merchants, the clerks of Calcutta; with them he was to pray, to them he was to preach. His congregations, though occasionally large, were ordinarily limited in number. But many of his new parishioners were representative men. Now-a-days the European community in Calcutta, with the ecclesiastical organization, the parochial ministrations, the places of worship belonging to various Christian bodies, the schools and colleges, enjoys as many advantages as any community anywhere. But in those days the situation was very different, when both churches and clergy were few. Under such circumstances a Chaplain of persuasive eloquence, of personal weight and moral authority, soon became not only a shining light but also a factor of some power in society. Such a part Thomason soon began to fill. His oratory in the pulpit was effective for its holy purpose. An address was presented to him by his parishioners, proving how fully he had caused them to remember his texts and the reasoning by which he had enforced his precepts. Among his hearers was the Earl of Moira, then Governor-General, and he was chosen to accompany His Lordship on an extended tour in northern India."⁵ Thomas T. Thomason visited the same area with the Earl of Moira which later on his son was destined to govern.⁶

Parentage

Thomas T. Thomason kept his son James, at Calcutta for six years. In 1814 he was sent to London under the care and protection of his grandmother, Mrs. Dornford,⁷ and Mr. Simeon, Thomas's

4. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682.

5. Temple, R., op. cit., pp. 28-29.

6. Ibid., loc. cit.

7. Mrs. Dornford was counted amongst the many friends of Charles Simeon, who was then at the very height of his religious career. He used to speak of her as his sister in Christ, even as his mother, though she was but a few years senior to himself. She died on January 13, 1835, at the age of 82, vide Ibid., pp. 22-23.

own guide, caretaker, teacher and preacher of his early days.⁸ The boy was received with all the warmth and affection by Simeon as his god-son. The genuine warmth of Simeon's emotions and his love and affection for the young boy is revealed by the way Simeon addresses James: "Your loving father in man's stead, your anxious father in God's stead."⁹ There is an interesting anecdote about James and Simeon which also gives expression to the sincere and affectionate feelings of the old preacher for the young James. Writing to James' mother, Simeon states: "Be assured that if I were indeed his father, I could not feel much for him than do. He was imprudently fishing by the river side, without hat or coat or waist-coat. Hearing only that he was fishing with little James Farish, I went full of anxiety to find him; and finding him in such a situation, it was almost a dagger to my heart. But no evil occurred. I began to feel how great a matter I had undertaken; but I do not repent, and trust I shall never give you cause to regret."¹⁰ The devoted solicitude and the earnest devoutness of Simeon made a lasting impression on the formative years of Thomason. He never disobeyed him and remained always very grateful to his mentor and spiritual guide. In one of his letters to Henry Lawrence, James writes, "I think you know sufficiently of the past history and my life, and of my present proceedings to believe that it is from no feelings of a common creature, that I beg you to do the favour to peruse the enclosed letter. To Charles Simeon the uncle of Sir. R. Lincoln, who is the writer of this, I owe all I have in this country and I would make every exertion in my power to show to the nephew my sense of the obligation I owe to the uncle."¹¹

8. In the history of the church of England few men have exercised such a great influence on the religious life of their time as Charles Simeon, Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge. He was the most outstanding clerical figure of the Evangelical Movement and he fired with missionary zeal many pious youngmen of great intellectual attainments. Among them were the Evangelical chaplains who came to India, as servants of the Company, between the years 1787 and 1815, to minister to the religious needs of their fellow countrymen. For details see Chatterton, E., *History of the Church of England in India*, (1924), pp. 118 to 121.

9. Cited in Temple, R., *op. cit.*, p. 34; also see the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 473.

10. Carus, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

11. Thomason's letter to Henry Lawrence, dated December 23, 1852, MSS. EUR. F. 85/35, Henry Lawrence Collection; India Office Library, London.

Education and Training

Early in September 1814, James was admitted to a school at Aspeden Hall near Buntingford, in Hertfordshire.¹² Mr. Preston was looking after this school and he had been training and coaching some of the best boys under him like William, eldest son of William Wilberforce, Thomas Babington Macaulay, son of Zachary Macaulay, Vaughm, who afterwards earned reputation as a preacher in Brighton and Malden, who later on won renown as a Professor of Classics.¹³ Of these Thomas B. Macaulay was one of the fellow-pupils of James. The boy, James, studied in this school for four years and then he was transferred to a school at Stansted in Sussex under the care of Archdeacon Hodson where Samuel Wilberforce was his school fellow.¹⁴ Here he remained for three years and got distinction by winning a number of prizes. According to Muir, "he signalized himself by gaining prizes"¹⁵ in both the seminaries at Aspeden and Stansted. James moved to Hailebury College in 1821 since he had obtained an appointment as Writer in the Bengal Civil Service. Here also his performance was brilliant. He won a number of medals and other prizes in History, Law, Political Economy, Mathematics, Classical Literature¹⁶ etc. Writing about the young civilian's progress to his father, Simeon reports, "On the 23rd May I intend to receive his last prizes; and on the 1st of June, I hope, your mother and I shall sail with him, as I did with you, . . . as far as the pilot goes."¹⁷ After completing his two years' term in this College successfully, James arrived at Calcutta on September 19, 1822, to assume the responsibilities of his new appoint-

12. James was accompanied both by his grandmother, Mrs. Dornfold and Mr. Simeon up to his school for the first time. The grandmother led the boy to her own room and there he was solemnly dedicated to the Lord by Simeon. A vivid description of this school as well as the first day of James there, has been given both by Carus and Temple, vide Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682; also Committee of College References No. 32 of 1820.

13. Most of those boys were sons of Simeon's friends, vide Cusson, History of Hertfordshire, p. 96.

14. Mr. Hodson at that time was Chaplain to Mr. Lewis Way, a fast friend of Mr. Simeon, who had worked hard together with him for the conversion of the Jews, vide Ashwell, Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. I, p. 5; also the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 473; also Temple, R., op. cit., p. 40.

15. For details see Carus, op. cit., pp. 556 to 562.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

17. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

ment.¹⁸ He was only eighteen years' at that time when he rejoined his parents in India. Describing his lineaments and appearance, Temple records: "He was extremely tall, with abundant brown hair, fair complexion, grey blue eyes, and general features; the general type being Anglo-Saxon."¹⁹ Soon after, he joined as Writer on April 30, 1820.²⁰ After serving on this post for a period of one year and two months he was declared qualified for the public service, but was allowed to prosecute the study of Mohammedan Law in Fort William College at Calcutta.²¹ On December 11, 1823, he joined as Assistant in the office of Register (Registrar) of Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat.²² He was promoted as Second Assistant in the same office of Register (Registrar) on October 18, 1824.²³ He was further promoted as First Assistant in the Sadar Court on March 2, 1826.²⁴ Thus he remained attached to the Sadar court till 1826. But in the same year he got a chance of officiating Register (Registrar) and Assistant to the Magistrate and to the Collector of the Jungle Mahals, which was indeed a high promotion in the status of the young Civilian.²⁵ In the same year, i.e., 1826, he took up the proficiency examination in Mohammedan Law in the College of Fort William and was publicly examined by a panel of high forensic reputation consisting of Ouseley, Macnaghten, and Riddell.²⁶ The

18. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682; vide also Dictionary of Indian Biography, by Buckland, C.E., (1906), p. 421.

19. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 47.

20. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX, (1909), p. 682.

21. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 474.

22. When Simeon came to know about James' appointment in the Sadar Court as Assistant Register (Registrar), he wrote to his father that, "I delight to hear such blessed tidings of my beloved James. Give my kindest love to him. We hear him in sweet remembrance, and most affectionately long for his welfare in every possible way," vide Carus, op. cit., p. 589; also Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX, (1909), p. 682; also Buckland, C.E., op. cit., p. 421.

23. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682; also Buckland, C.E., op. cit., p. 421.

24. Ibid., loc. cit.

25. Ibid., loc. cit.

26. Ouseley had earned a great name in Oriental learning, whereas Macnaghten himself composed abstracts of Mohammedan and Hindu Law, vide Temple, R., op. cit., p. 51.

spontaneous compliment paid to James Thomason by the examiners on "the intense application and extraordinary talent,"²⁷ brought by him to bear upon the subject was eminently deserved by the young scholar. The following extract of the report signed by all the three examiners emphasizes the extraordinary talent and a rare command on his subject. The report reads, "From the studious habits and tried abilities of Mr. Thomason, we were led to expect the display of extraordinary attainments. We assigned, therefore, to that gentleman, the performance of exercise proportionately arduous; and it affords us sincere gratification to state that our estimate, high as it was, of his acquirements, fell short of the reality. When we say that the translations were made with the utmost fidelity, accuracy and despatch, we bear but inadequate testimony to his merits. In the course of three or four hours, Mr. Thomason not only performed what was required of him, but he found leisure also to make judicious annotations on abstruse passages, thereby furnishing satisfactory proof, that to the capacity of consulting original legal authorities, he has added a considerable knowledge of the law itself. Mr. Thomason read a passage of the *Hedaya*²⁸ in the presence of the law officers of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, to whom he explained the meaning in the Persian language, and who expressed themselves in the highest degree gratified by the learning and acumen which he displayed."²⁹ On such a brilliant performance of James Thomason, the Government honoured him by awarding a grant of Rs. 3,000.³⁰

Domestic Hardships

The years from 1825 to 1826 was a period of mental agony,

27. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLI, December, 1853, p. 475.

28. Commentary upon the Muslim law was called the *Hedaya* or guide. The English version of that commentary was later known as Charles Hamilton's *Hedaya*. The translation was originally entrusted to Anderson and Hamilton by Warren Hastings. It was, however, done by Charles Hamilton. All the four volumes of Hamilton's translation appeared in London in 1791. Vide the Translator's Preliminary Discourse, XXXII, xlix-xlv and lxxviii; as to the authorship of the original Arabic version of the *Hedaya*, see Neill, B.E., Baillie, Moohummudan Law of Sale, (London, 1850), Preliminary Remarks, pp. XV & XVI; see also Harrings, Analysis, (Calcutta 1805 and 1809), Vol. I, p. 237.

29. The Calcutta Gazette, 28th July 1826, cited in the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December 1853, p. 275.

30. Ibid., loc. cit,

physical discomfort and personal sorrow. His mother expired in 1825.³¹ The unwholesome climatic conditions of the Jungle Mahals at which he was posted in 1826 affected his health adversely and in 1827, i.e. two years after his mother's death, he himself was seriously indisposed. Therefore, for the recoupment of his health as well as to share the bereavement of his disconsolate father, he went to England in August 1827.³² James remained at home on absentee allowance for a period of one year and nine months, i.e., from February 13, 1827, up to November 6, 1828.³³ During this period James journeyed through the north of England and in Scotland as far as Edinburgh and before his departure for India stayed with his father at Cheltenham.³⁴ While he was at Cheltenham, he became engaged to Maynard Eliza.³⁵ On November 7, 1828, James returned to India. Three months after his arrival here, he was married to Maynard Eliza at Maldah on February 19, 1829.³⁶ In the meantime James' father, ~~also~~ married again and returned to Calcutta, and after officiating as clergyman at the marriage ceremony of his son, he had immediately to sail back to England to check up the serious disease of pleurisy that he had developed here.³⁷ Thomas died at Mauritius in June, 1829, en route to England.³⁸ This was the second great shock to James within four years of his mother's death. In the meantime he had taken up his new post of Deputy Register (Registrar) of Sadai Diwani and Nizamat Adalat and Preparer of Reports on February 17, 1829.³⁹ Shortly after James also officiated at Judge and Magistrate of the suburbs of Calcutta, and Superintendent of the

31. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, Dec. 1853, p. 475.

32. Ibid., loc. cit.

33. Ibid., loc. cit.

34. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 48.

35. Maynard Eliza was one of the daughters of William Grant of the Covenanted Civil Service, stationed at Maldah in India. Mr. Grant belonged to the Grants of Elchies near Elgin. To this stock belonged Sir Robert Grant, the author of several hymns well-known for their beauty. James had also long been acquainted with Maynard Eliza, vide Ibid., loc. cit.

36. Ibid., p. 49.

37. Ibid., loc. cit.,

38. Ibid., loc. cit.

39. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX, (1909), p. 682,

Alipore Jail.⁴⁰ On January 4, 1831, he got another promotion to serve as Deputy Secretary in Judicial and Revenue Department.⁴¹ This was really a great promotion of a comparatively young officer of under ten years' standing. In the same year he was also appointed as a member of the General Commission of Public Instruction which further attracted his attention to the subject of education.⁴² It was during this time that he had mastered *Manu Smriti* and *Hedava* and took notes from them specially about difficult and curious points.⁴³

In 1832 James resolved to quit the honourable post he held in Calcutta for various reasons which were long afterwards expressed by William Muir in the words that follow:

"It is not in the Secretariat Bureau alone, or in the private study, that administrative capacity is to be gained. It is not enough that the red tape be ever and anon united; bundles of correspondence read and digested; and the busy pen daily employed in carefully expressed and nimbly recorded despatches. It is true that the views of the enlightened officers ably employed in active duty, may thus be thoroughly mastered and valuable notes and memoranda may be multiplied till the Secretariat shelves groan beneath them. But no study will supply the place of personal experience and so long as an officer has not himself mixed with the people, and come into immediate contact with them, as their District Officer, his opinions cannot, popularly speaking, be called his own, since they are grounded, not upon personal observation, but upon the reports of others."⁴⁴

Entry Into Civil Service

Thus at his own request James was transferred on September 8, 1832, to the post of Magistrate, Collector, and Deputy Opium Agent of Azamgarh⁴⁵ in order that he might acquire administrative

40. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853; p. 475.

41. Ibid., loc. cit.; also the information supplied by the Assistant Keeper, India Office Library, London. Letter No. IOL/B19, dated 18th December, 1964.

42. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853; p. 475.

43. Ibid., loc. cit.

44. Ibid., p. 476.

45. Land Revenue Records G.C., Nos. 27-35, of Dec. 1838.

experience and practical knowledge of district work in immediate contact with the people. The distance from Calcutta to Azamgarh was pretty long—some five hundred miles—and the journey then in those days was not the simple thing it is now in the days of good roads and railways. Travellers had to go either by boat, steamer or by palki. James's impressions about the district revealed by his own observations are as follows:

"It is bounded on the west by the Oudh territories, on the north by the river Gogra and district of Gorakhpur and on the south and east by the river of Benares. The country is generally low, with water near the surface, and abounding in large jhils or lakes. It is traversed from the west to east by several rivers or streams, all of which take their rise from lakes situated either in the district itself or in Oudh, at a short distance to the west, between the Gogra and the Gumti, and fall into the Ganges. Two of these are navigable during the rains, whilst the others are never navigable; but are highly valued for the irrigation which they extensively supply. The soil is generally fertile and peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of the sugarcane.

"The chief natural products of the district are sugar, indigo and opium. Comparatively little grain is grown in the district, seldom sufficient of the whole population, which is partly dependent upon importation from the neighbouring district of Gorakhpur, or from Behar or the Western Provinces. The river Gogra is the general channel for these importations. Grain markets are established all along the course of this stream, and the supplies are hence poured in, as necessary to all the manufacturing towns in the district. Sugar is the staple produce. It is cultivated throughout the district and always yields a high rent."⁴⁶

Early Revenue Training

At the advent of Thomason to the newly-assigned district, a survey and reassessment of the revenue for the Thirty Years' Settlement was about to be introduced there.⁴⁷ Before this measure could be implemented, the boundaries of every village had to be defined, and disputes adjusted. This was to be followed by Revenue Settlement, and preparation of Record of Rights, framed

46. Land Revenue Records Consultations Nos. 1-2 of March 18, 1839.

47. For details see Regulation IX of 1833, vide Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 114; also Field Regulations of the Bengal Code, p. 29.

under Regulations VII of 1822 and IX of 1833, on the principles laid down by Robert Merttins Bird.⁴⁸ Thomason, therefore, had to combine the task of administration with that of survey and settlement work, which, however unusual a combination in those days was not so uncommon in the early days of British administration in India. It had the distinct advantage of bringing a District Officer in an intimate contact with his people. The establishment of unobstructed and direct relationship with the people was the long-cherished desire of Thomason. His appointment to the district of Azamgarh fulfilled his aforesaid desire inasmuch as it provided him with a unique opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge and invaluable experience which turned out to be of immense value to him in his later administrative career. It seems as if he were placed at the throbbing core of the complex administrative activity which equipped him with that rare knowledge of measures, experience and programmes that ensure and facilitate the smooth and speedy disposal of public business.

The load of work at Azamgarh did not shake or discourage him, because from the very beginning, a hardworking man as he was, he kept himself ceaselessly engaged with his job. William Muir's account of how James Thomason discharged his official duties at Azamgarh makes an interesting study: "Instructions were drawn up, with diligent thoughtfulness, for the guidance of his Covenanted assistants in the conduct of the independent charges assigned to each; and as the Settlement drew on, carefully framed rules for the adjustment of disputes and other matters, were laid down for his *Tahseeldars* and European staff. Upon these he sought to elicit the suggestions and remarks of his head assistants; such criticisms, both in writing and in personal conference, he was forward to invite and to take into ready consideration. But an opinion or rule once carefully arrived at, had always been the result of such mature and sound deliberation that, however much contested, it was rarely abandoned. The general interests of his charge engaged also his constant attention. We find him, for instance, objecting in his private capacity, to the Legislative Council against a proposed enactment for investing the Magistrate with power to determine the compensation due, under certain circumstances, by landholders to indigo planters, and protesting that it would be a stigma upon our judicial system; again, we meet with an indignant note upon an unjust civil decree passed by a native functionary; and with are

elaborate memorandum on the rights of under-tenants for the support of which he furnishes directions to his assistants.⁴⁹

He was thus keenly alive to his multitudinous official responsibilities and his alert mind kept an ever-vigilant watch over the affairs of his district. He undertook extensive tours on foot and horseback in connection with the inspector of the settlement work in particular and administration in general. He was thus able to see the people not only as they appear in public offices and courts of justice, but also as they were in their villages, and in their humble callings at home. Another opportunity of which he availed himself to the full while working in the settlement branch was of inquiry into the past history of the tribes and families of the district. Thomason, writes Oswell, "thus laid the foundation of that profound knowledge of the diverse and intricate land tenures of the district for which he afterwards received the encomium of the Court of Directors in London."⁵⁰ In all he spent four years and six months at Azamgarh and gained a thorough knowledge of the district under his administration. Yet another point which should not be lost sight of is the training that he imparted to Robert Montgomery and Henry Carre Tucker while at Azamgarh.⁵¹ Thomason's Settlement Report⁵² of the Azamgarh district printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society in 1837 and also 'Saunders's Magazine' later, gives an idea of his successful operations. In reporting the result to the Government, the Sadar Board of Revenue stated "their sense of obligation to Mr. Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgment."⁵³ In spite of the heavy load of work, Thomason lived a happy domestic life during his stay in Azamgarh and he retained a life-long affection for the place : in one of his letters he described the period as "years of uninterrupted happiness are a blessing denied to many."⁵⁴ It was at Azamgarh that Thomason during his off hours had taken notes of the extracts

49. Vide letter dated 5th December, 1835, cited in Muir, W., op. cit., p. 25.

50. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 178.

51. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XII, December, 1853, p. 478.

52. Land Revenue Records, G. G. Nos. 27-35 of Dec. 1838.

53. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 478.

54. Letter cited in Oswell, G.G., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 178.

from over one hundred favourite authors, and especially those with religious predilections, for his manuscript book.⁵⁵ Testifying to the love of Thomason for Azamgarh, William Muir observes: "To his residence at Azamgarh, he always reverted with delight; and he visited it in his annual tours; the memory of domestic happiness, and official usefulness, could be traced in the glistening eye, and the mingled sympathies, which lighted up his countenance, or cast a shadow across it."⁵⁶ Thus in his scheme of preference and natural affections for places and people, Azamgarh had come to occupy a position of honourable distinction. In this nursery had blossomed forth his administrative genius and the training that he had imbibed with his raw contact with the brassstacks and details that go to sharpen the acumen of an administrator stood him in good stead in the later part of his career. "He had now acquired that self-reliance which was to sustain him hereafter with a strength that nothing else could impart."⁵⁷ Obviously it was an opportunity to discipline and acquaint his mind with those details which were either missed or did not form a part of apprenticeship of most of the Governors who came either after or before him.

CONTACT WITH CHARLES METCALFE

Early Steps Towards Progress

On being promoted to the post of officiating Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, Thomason was transferred from Azamgarh to take charge of his new assignment at Agra on March 2, 1837.⁵⁸ Sir Charles Metcalfe was the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces at that time. While offering him this appointment Sir Charles asked him to choose from the following alternative posts—a contemplated office of Commissioner or Superintendent of Settlements; an officiating Commissionership in the regular line; or the

55. This excellent source of information is not now traceable either at the India Office Library, London, or National Archives of India, New Delhi.

56. Muir, W., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

57. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

58. While leaving Azamgarh for Agra to resume his new post, Thomason parted with the following words: "Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah, for old Azamgarh," *vide Ibid.*, p. 64.

officiating Secretaryship.⁵⁹ It is also to be noted that Metcalfe, while congratulating James Thomason on his successful administration of Azamgarh, had offered him in 1836 Judgeship of that place and had shown his inclination even to make him with immediate effect the Judge, Magistrate and Collector of the district.⁶⁰ But Thomason declined the offer of Metcalfe and preferred to continue in the less pretentious office of the Collector till the completion of the revenue settlement work which was progressing under his supervision at Azamgarh. Moreover, he expressed his opinion to the Lieutenant-Governor frankly that the office of Judge with that of District officer should not be combined.⁶¹

Because of the serious turn in the illness of his wife, Thomason had to leave for England in 1839, just one year after he joined his post at Agra.⁶² He had only taken leave to the Cape of Good Hope, and his conduct, by the rules of the Company, involved forfeiture of his membership of the Civil Service. The Court of Directors, however, knowing his value, restored him to the service, and the Government of India kept his appointment open for him. He saved his post, but he lost his wife. In spite of his best efforts and devoted care she passed away in November, 1839.⁶³

On coming back to Agra after the death of his beloved wife, Thomason resumed his post of Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces on May 23, 1840.⁶⁴ By this time Metcalfe had retired and was succeeded by Mr. Robertson as Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. Lord Auckland had also for the time being taken up the direct administration of Agra.⁶⁵ Thus Thomason came into close contact with Lord Auckland and Mr. Robertson which further en-

59. Vide Metcalfe's letter to James Thomason, dated May 14, 1836, cited in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December 1853, p. 475.

60. Vide Metcalfe's letter to James Thomason, dated May 14, 1836, cited in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December 1853, p. 478.

61. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

62. *Oswell, G.G.*, op. cit., p. 179.

63. Thomason's wife had developed some disease in her chest since 1836, vide *Oswell, G.G.*, op. cit., p. 179; also *Hampton, H.V.* op. cit. p. 191.

64. *Bhanu, D.*, *History and Administration of the N. W. P.*, 1803-1858, p. 139.

65. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

riched his experience and developed his official connections. Writing about Thomason's role as Secretary, Muir says, "The busy duties of Secretary did not prevent his turning attention to subjects of general interest. He inquired carefully into the nature and effect of the transit dues in the Saugor territories, and advocated their abolition (a measure which, mainly through his endeavours, was eventually enforced by the Governor-General in 1847); while his ability on educational subjects was recognised by his appointment as Visitor to superintend the Agra and the Delhi Colleges."⁶⁶

After serving as Secretary for two years, Thomason was appointed as Member of the Board of Revenue in 1842, a permanent post in succession to Mr. R. M. Bird.⁶⁷ He was pre-eminently suited for this post since he had undergone an intensive training in settlement and revenue affairs while at Azamgarh and that too during the membership of Bird. With the result that his versatile mind found no lack of subjects of commanding interest in this responsible position. With a view to examining personally the records of the settlement with his own eye, he undertook an intensive tour of the province singling out the weaker portions of the work and suggesting remedies for them with all sagacity and kindness.⁶⁸ By this time Thomason

66. Apart from his post of Secretaryship, Thomason was also acting as Member of the Committee of Public Instruction which had been set up by John Adam, Elphinstone's cousin, in 1823, vide Hampton, H.V., op. cit., p. 191; also the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 479.

67. Temple's observation about the meeting of Thomason and Bird and their intercourse is quite interesting. He says, "it was a red-letter day in the calendar of northern India when these two eminent persons met at the Board's headquarters, at Allahabad.... His intercourse indeed with Bird, which had long been intimate, was at this time noteworthy as supplying a special example to the public service," (vide Temple, R., op. cit., pp. 71-72); Quoting from Thomason's letter at Agra Temple further remarks, "Mr. Bird stayed with me nearly a week. I enjoyed his visit greatly, and I trust it was for the good of both. I never found him so instructive or communicative on those subjects, which regard another world. We had much more interesting conversation, and endeavoured more especially to consider how we should carry out our Christian principles into our daily walk as public servants. It is an important subject, on which as each year passes we should more earnestly reflect." *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; also *Land Revenue Consultations* Nos. 15-16 of October 4, 1841.

68. For details see the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 479.

had earned so great a reputation that the new Governor-General Lord Ellenborough often asked his service. About the close of 1842 he was first of all appointed Member of the Finance Committee and soon after in 1843 he was further promoted as Secretary to the Government of India's secret, political, legislative, judicial and revenue Departments.⁶⁹ Ellenborough was so much satisfied with him that he again promoted him to the position of greater renown, that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, the duties of which he took over on April 29, 1843.⁷⁰ Temple calls this Foreign Secretary's office as "the most dignified and interesting in the country, being commonly called 'the blue ribbon' of the Indian service."⁷¹ As Foreign Secretary he undertook an intensive tour of the North-Western Provinces along with Lord Ellenborough himself. By this time both the Governor-General and the Foreign Secretary were in the closest contact. In Thomason's own words, "My attitude is one of a disciple, and my business is to give currency to the thoughts of others rather than to express my own... Lord Ellenborough is exceedingly affable and considerate to me. He allows me the fullest access and unreserved communication."⁷² Thus it becomes quite clear from the lines cited above that Thomason enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor-General.

Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. Provinces

In the meantime the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces fell vacant owing to Mr. Robertson's retirement. For this coveted post too Thomason's name was brought forward by Lord Ellenborough and he was appointed the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces while he was thirty-nine years of age with twenty years of service experience to his credit.⁷³ When Thomason heard of this appointment he remarked that, "I may meet with detraction and shall have to overcome prejudices, but the God who has placed me there will enable me to do my duty, or, if He shall

69. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Foreign Consultations No. 1 of April 12, 1843; vide also Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX (1909), p. 682.

70. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. XLII, December, 1853, p. 479; also Foreign Consultations No. 1 of February 22, 1843.

71. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 72.

72. Ibid., loc. cit.

73. Foreign Consultations Nos. 40-41 and 175-176 of November 18, 1843; also Home Public Consultations No. 7, I.P.L./43, No. 53 of October 30, 1843.

see fit to discredit me, or remove me from the sphere, He can also give me submission to His will."⁷⁴ He assumed charge of the new post on December 12, 1843, at Agra and continued to hold it until his death at Bareilly on September 27, 1853.⁷⁵

Early Achievements

The years of Thomason's Lieutenant-Governorship were quiet and peaceful, and no one was more fitted than he to guide the destinies of a province which was not new to him. From the beginning he set himself to the accomplishment of two important ends—to make the administration thoroughly efficient and to forward every measure calculated to increase the welfare and happiness of the people. In order to achieve these two aims, he applied himself assiduously and soon succeeded in completely and minutely mastering the details of each and every department. Since he was an indefatigable worker, the ten years of his constant and devoted work in the North-Western Provinces were a time of intense activity during which he worked with all his energies, so much so, that he did not even take care of his health and thus worked himself to death. No one of his predecessors worked as hard and with such an alert mind, extraordinary energy and great self-reliance as did Thomason during the ten years of his regime in the North-Western Provinces. And it is also a fact that with such noble aims he proved to be one of the most popular and successful Lieutenant-Governors of that period. Only men like Elphinstone and Malcolm could achieve the measure of success attained by Thomason in the field of land revenue affairs, the promotion of popular education, development of communications, improvement of prison conditions and other allied spheres which were a constant source of tormenting anxiety to the administrator of a vast territory like the North-Western Provinces.

74. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 179.

75. In his letter to Mr. Henry Carre Tucker, dated 20th September, 1853, Thomason gives an account of his own health. He writes, "I came over here in hopes of benefit, but have not as yet been successful. The journey completely prostrated me, and I have been obliged hitherto to deny myself to all visitors, and to give up all business that I can possibly avoid. I have no specific illness but loss of appetite, loss of strength, loss of power for any exertion whatever, symptoms of the frailty of the tabernacle in which we dwell. We know that it must be dissolved, how, or how soon we do not know. Let us be sure that we have another building not made with hands, ready to receive us," vide Temple, R. op. cit., p. 202; also see Buckland, C. E., op. cit., pp. 421-422.

CHAPTER II

The Field of Operation

The early history of the North-Western Provinces when it was part of Bengal and was officially designated as the Upper Provinces,¹ is replete with major territorial adjustments and boundary demarcations. By slow territorial annexations, the Bengal Presidency which was formed early in the 17th century, grew into a huge sprawling zone. From the banks of the Satlaj river on the west, it stretched up to Calcutta and even farther down in the east. The vastness of the region made it unwieldy as an administrative unit. Its dismemberment, therefore, was necessary both on political as well as on administrative considerations.

Origin and Growth of N. W. Provinces

In his "Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India," Heber wrote in 1828 that the lamentable lack of means of transport and communication multiplied and aggravated the administrative problems, and the tracks which the British administrators traversed even on horseback posed a serious threat to life and property of the travellers.² In view of these difficulties and also for increasing the administrative efficiency, the first definite effort was made by the Home Government in the shape of the Charter Act of 1833 which divided the Presidency of Bengal into two parts—one called the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and the other the Presidency of Agra.³ Thus in embryonic form the North-Western

1. Home Public Proceedings, No. 7 of August 1, 1805.

2. Heber, Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Province of India, pp. 192 and 227; also Home Public Proceedings, Body-sheet, No. 38 of June 3, 1814; also Thompson, E., Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe, p. 252; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 7 of August 1, 1805.

3. The Charter Act passed on August 19, 1833, received the Royal assent on August 28, 1833, ranked in the Statute Book as 3

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Provinces took shape as the Agra Presidency in 1834.⁴ It was to be administered by a Governor and his three Councillors, controlled and superintended by the Governor-General.⁵ The new Presidency comprised the Doab, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Allahabad and Jabalpur.⁶ The administrative headquarters of the newly-formed Presidency were at Allahabad.⁷ Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose name was unanimously approved in the full Court of Directors on November 20, 1833, and whose appointment was to take effect from April 22, 1834, was the first Governor of this Presidency.⁸ Prior to this appointment, Metcalfe was serving as Vice-President in the Governor-General's Council. To give effect to the change in the administrative hierarchy consequent upon the appointment of Metcalfe to the Governorship, the Court of Directors issued a second Proclamation, dated April 22, 1834, (the date on which Metcalfe was to take over the charge of his new assignment at Allahabad) reconstituting the Governor-General's Council.⁹ The new Council consisted of William Blunt, Alexander Rose, Thomas Babington Macaulay and William B. Martin.¹⁰ The change of office from the Council's Vice-President-

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and 4 William IV c. 85, and came into force from April 22, 1834. It was under Act 3 and 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, Section 38 that the Agra Presidency was formed, vide Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political); also *The Mirror of Parliament* for 1833, Vol. III, p. 2780.

4. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political) and Despatch, dated December 10, 1834, No. 44 (Public).

5. The Governor and his Councillors were to be called as Governor-in-Council. The salary of the Governor was fixed at Rs. 1,20,000 per year, and that of each of the members of his Council, who were never appointed, was Rs. 60,000 per year. For the equipment and passage from England to India each Governor was to be paid £2,500 vide Act 3 and 4 William IV Cap. 85 of 1833, Sections 56 and 76; also Beveridge, H., *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 224; also Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political) and Despatch dated December 10, 1834, No. 44 (Public).

6. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated December 27, 1833, No. 18 (Political).

7. Beveridge, H., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 249; also the Government Notification cited in Dharam Bhanu, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

8. Thompson, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

9. Dharam Bhanu, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

10. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

ship to the Governorship of the Agra Presidency was interpreted by Metcalfe to be a set-back in his career for the reason that he felt it as a demotion in his official status.¹¹ Within a month of his appointment, he was nominated as the provisional Governor-General of India by the Court in the beginning of 1834.¹² This happy turn in the affairs of Metcalfe was necessitated by the precarious ailment of Lord William Bentinck who had to lay down the sceptre of authority and proceed on to the Nilgiri Hills at Ootacamund for the recoupment of his health.¹³ Metcalfe's first reform was the liquidation of the Governor's Council in the Agra Presidency.¹⁴ The 'prima facie' reason as assigned by Metcalfe for disbanding the Council was to effect economy in administrative expenditure,¹⁵ but his ulterior motive seems to be the overriding ambition to govern the affairs of the Agra Presidency with unfettered freedom. However it may be, the Court of Directors agreed and his proposal was implemented.¹⁶ In the meantime relations between Metcalfe and Bentinck had deteriorated considerably. The inordinate love for self-aggrandisement, personal animus and differences in their respective viewpoints brought about a sharp administrative cleavage and pitted them against one another in an amusing battle of wits. In the main the tactical moves that deepened the crisis centred round the formation of the Provisional Council by Bentinck at Ootacamund on June 16, 1834, which directed Metcalfe to continue as Vice-President of the Governor-General's Council.¹⁷ In accordance with

11. In his letter to Henry S.G. Tucker, Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, Metcalfe feels his "removal from the Supreme Council to the Government at Agra, like a descent," vide Kaye, J.W., *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 212.

12. Bentinck remained on nine months' leave from February 3, 1834, to November 13, 1834, vide Dharam Bhanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

13. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

14. Metcalfe's letter to Tucker, cited by Kaye, J.W., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 212.

15. *Ibid.*, loc. cit..

16. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

17. The Provisional Council of Bentinck formed at Ootacamund on June 16, 1834, consisted of Col. Morrison, Thomas B. Macaulay, Ironside, and the Governor of Madras, Frederick Adam who had temporarily joined as a member. The proclamation of the Provisional Council was: "Whereas it is impracticable to carry into immediate execution all the preliminary measures that shall be necessary before the duties of the Government of Agra can be entered

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the directives contained in the Proclamation issued by the parallel Council formed by Bentinck, Metcalfe was to carry on the routine conduct of the Government of India at Calcutta throughout the period of Bentinck's leave of absence.¹⁸ Bentinck's questionable manoeuvre was calculated to assert his supremacy in gubernatorial affairs in which Metcalfe was to play only the second fiddle. Similarly the question of the capital of the Agra Presidency and the powers, privileges and initiative of the Governor in the Presidency occasioned a trial of strength between Metcalfe and Bentinck.¹⁹ In fact there was a constant tug-of-war between the two administrators. None of them, and particularly Bentinck, wanted to part with power and patronage which he was enjoying at that time. When on November 14, 1834, Bentinck rejoined his post at Calcutta, Metcalfe had not yet taken over his new assignment of the Agra Presidency. He was originally to have joined on April 22, 1834.²⁰

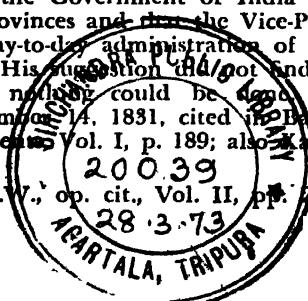
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upon, or to adopt, without previous inquiry and mature deliberations, the different official and legislative proceedings which the separation of the two Governments require, and whereas, for the aforesaid reasons, it is not expedient that the Hon'ble Sir Charles Metcalfe should assume the Government of Agra before the return of the Governor-General and the Council to Calcutta, the Governor-General-in-Council, therefore, has been pleased to resolve, and it is hereby notified accordingly, that the administration of the Presidency of Bengal, as here-to-fore constituted, shall in the meantime continue to be carried by the Hon'ble the Vice-President-in-Council." Metcalfe criticized this illegal and unconstitutional Council of Bentinck as "Misnomer" and was also supported by Blunt who too was a member of the Supreme Council, vidya Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 216; also Beveridge, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 247-248; also Home Political Proceedings, Consultation No. 3 of May 8, 1834.

18. Home Political Proceedings, Consultation No. 3 of May 8, 1834; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 216.

19. Bentinck was from the very beginning opposed to the division of the Bengal Presidency, despite the concurrence of the opinions of the Councillors like Bayley and Metcalfe in its favour. Right from the time when the proposal for the creation of the Agra Presidency was under consideration, Bentinck had suggested that the headquarters of the Government of India be shifted to somewhere in the Upper Provinces and that the Vice-President-in-Council should look after the day-to-day administration of the Lower Provinces, i.e., Bengal proper. His suggestion did not find favour with Home Government and so nothing could be done vide Governor-General's Minute of September 14, 1831, cited in Banerji, A.C., Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol. I, p. 189; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 295.

20. Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 212-213.



Sir Charles Metcalfe as the Lieutenant-Governor

He did not do so until November 14, 1834, being delayed by the Governor-General. His salary at Calcutta was Rs. 1,20,000 a year.²¹ The other high officials who were to assist him were a Private Secretary, a Military Secretary and a Surgeon on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,500, Rs. 1,000, and Rs. 450 respectively.²² A sum of Rs. 47,000 per month was also allocated for the maintenance of several Departments of the new Presidency.²³ Thus after everything was finalised Metcalfe left Calcutta on December 16, 1834, and arrived at Allahabad on February 6, 1835, which was the new capital of the Agra Presidency.²⁴ It is to be noted that even after Metcalfe's arrival at Allahabad, the hostility between him and Bentinck continued. As the Governor-General displayed his inclination for intensive interference in the affairs of the Agra Presidency, the Governor too reacted strongly offering resistance. Some of the restrictions imposed on the Governor of the North-Western Provinces by the Governor-General were that the Governor was not given the authority to decide policy matters and political relations of the neighbouring Indian states; the appointment of the different important officers, like the Secretary to the Government of Agra, was to be made by the Governor-General.²⁵ Bentinck also insisted that Allahabad be the capital of the Presidency and not Agra which Metcalfe had suggested.²⁶ In protest against this unfriendly and meddlesome attitude of the Governor-General, Metcalfe also wrote a number of letters to Henry St. George Tucker, who was Deputy Chairman of the Court of

21. Home Public Proceedings No. 4 of March 25, 1835; also Home Public Proceedings No. 5 of May 20, 1835.

22. Home Public Proceedings, No. 4 of March 25, 1835 and No. 5 of May 20, 1835.

23. This amount (Rs. 47,000) included the expenses of the Secretariat, the Audit and Accounts office, the Government establishments and the expenditure on the Government House and the Darbar charges, vide Home Miscellaneous Records, General Section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 6 of 1835.

24. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 1 of 1835, dated Allahabad, February 26, 1835; also Beveridge, H., op. cit., Vol. III, p. 249; also Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 310.

25. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated Ootacamund, August 11, 1834, No. 11 (Political); vide also Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 309.

26. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated Ootacamund, August 11, 1834, No. 11, (Political); also Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 309.

Directors, showing his resentment. In one of his letters to Tucker dated September 4, 1834, Metcalfe wrote, "You will perceive that the Governor-General proposes to station it (Capital of the Agra Presidency) at Allahabad and to return it into a sort of Judicial and Revenue Commissionership, which is to have no concern whatever in political, military or financial affairs... If an efficient Government is not required in the north-west quarter, or if it cannot be formed, owing to the difficulty of separating power and patronage from the Supreme Government, why have any? Such a thing as it is proposed to set up at Allahabad, will be a useless expense."²⁷ Thus Metcalfe continued to express his displeasure over Bentinck's attitude of constant interference in the affairs of the Agra Presidency. Under these circumstances he could govern the province only for a period of four months, i.e., from November 14, 1834, up to March 20, 1835.²⁸ In the meantime Lord Bentinck too had retired and so Metcalfe was offered the Governor-Generalship and took office in 1835 in Calcutta.²⁹

Ross's Succession as Lieutenant Governor

Metcalfe was succeeded by William Blunt on March 20, 1835.³⁰ This was a temporary arrangement because on November 10, 1835, Alexander Ross took the permanent charge from Blunt.³¹ Thus Blunt governed the provinces for a period of only eight months.

The early years of Ross's regime witnessed a great change when Section 38 of the Charter Act of 1833 was suspended by the Court of Directors and thus the separate Presidency of Agra was reunited with the Bengal Presidency as a subordinate territory with a changed name as the North-Western Provinces.³² Under this sys-

27. Metcalfe's Letter to Henry St. G. Tucker, dated September 4, 1834, vide Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 212; also see Metcalfe's letter to Lord William Bentinck cited in Thompson, E., op. cit., pp. 309-310.

28. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 2 of 1835.

29. Bentinck was compelled to leave India for England because of his prolonged illness, vide Home Miscellaneous Records, General Section, Vol. 502, Paper No. 2 of 1835.

30. Home Public Proceedings, No. 7 of March 9, 1836.

31. Ibid.

32. Court of Directors' letter to Metcalfe dated September 30, 1835, No. 46, vide Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of March 9, 1836; also Proceedings of the Governor-General-in-Council, dated February

tem the administrative head of the North-Western Provinces was designated as Lieutenant-Governor and not Governor, whose appointment was to be made by the Governor-General.³³ Another important change introduced in regard to the North-Western Provinces during this time was the transfer of the capital from Allahabad to Agra.³⁴

Thus comprising the districts ceded to the Company in 1775³⁵ and 1801³⁶ by the Nawabs of Awadh, the "Conquered Territories"

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29, 1836; also Act 5 and 6, William IV Cap. 52 of the Charter Act of 1833; also Maddock, Lords Report, 1852, Vol. XXX, May 17, 1852; also Clerk, G.R., Question No. 1525.

33. By Act 5 and 6, Will. IV, Cap. 52, the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to appoint any servant of the East India Company as Lieutenant-Governor with at least ten years' service in India. He was also empowered to declare and limit the extent of the territories to be placed under the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor. vide Act 5 and 6, William IV, Cap. 52 of the Charter Act of 1833; also Home Miscellaneous Records, General Section, Vol. 502. Note to Proceedings of the North-Western Provinces Government for January, February and March, 1836; also Banerji, A.C., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 202 fn.; also Beveridge, H., op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 249; also Melville, Question No. 425, vide Commons Report, 1852, Vol. X, and Question No. 658, Lords Report, 1852, Vol. XXX.

34. Melville, Question No. 425, vide Commons Report, 1852, Vol. X; also Banerji, A. C., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 202 fn.

35. The Treaty of Faizabad (May, 1775), concluded between the Bengal Government and Asaf-ud-Daulah, was the work of the hostile majority of Warren Hastings' Council. By this Treaty the modern districts of Ghazipur, Benares, Jaunpur and a part of Mirzapur were ceded to the Company. The cession of these districts formed the nucleus out of which developed the Presidency of Agra, later the North-Western Provinces. The powerful fortress of Fatehgarh and Allahabad were also acquired in 1797 and 1798 respectively that went to form the Agra Province. This was the second instalment of territories acquired by the Company, vide Aitchison, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. II, Documents No. 31 and 47; also Davies, C. C., Warren Hastings and Oudh, p. 84; also for details see Atkinson, N. W. Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. VII, (History Portion).

36. It was under the Treaty of November 10, 1801, extorted from Nawab Saadat Ali Khan by Henry Wellesley that the Company acquired the districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Basti and Azamgarh in the east, the districts of Allahabad, Fatehpur, Kanpur and Etawah in the south, while Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad and a major portion of the Rohilkhand Division (Bareilly, Moradabad, Badaun, Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur districts) in the west. The

surrendered to the Company by the vanquished Maratha Chief, the Sindhia, in 1803,³⁷ the northern hill districts gained by the Company as a result of their victory in the Nepal War (1814-1816),³⁸ and the Saugor and Narbada districts surrendered to the Company by the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur in 1818 after the third Anglo-Maratha War,³⁹ the North-Western Provinces emerged as a separate administrative unit in 1836 under the charge of a Lieutenant-Governor.

treaty was ratified by the Governor-General on November 14, 1801. Vide Owen, *A Selection from Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, pp. 207-211; also Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 122; also Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 730-731; also *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1802, p. 29, and of 1807, pp. 1-2.

37. The conquered territories from Daulat Rao Sindhia were Jaipur, Jodhpur, Gohad, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, major portions of Agra and Mathura districts, and some territory to the west of Jamuna called the Delhi territory, comprising Delhi, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsa and Karnal. According to a Supplementary Treaty of December 16, 1803, the Peshwa had also handed over some of his possessions in Bundelkhand consisting of Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun districts to the British. For details see the *Treaties of Bassein and Sarji Arjun-gaon and Deogaon*. vide Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 46; also Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 384-385; also *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1807, pp. 23-24 and 27; also *Administration Reports of the N.W. Provinces for 1882-83*, pp. 30-31; also Oswell, G.G., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 74.

38. According to the Treaty of Sagauli of March 5, 1816, Nepal ceded to the British the hill districts of Garhwal, Kumaon and Dehra Dun, and a long strip of territory along the lower Himalayas with most of the adjacent forest lands extending from the eastern border of the present Nepal up to the Sutlej on the North-West, the British also secured the principal hill stations like Simla (now in Himachal Pradesh), Mussoorie, Almora, Ranikhet, Landour and Naini Tal besides Dehra Dun (all in modern Uttar Pradesh). vide the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 16, p. 222; also Datta, K.K., Majumdar, R.C., Raychaudhuri, H. C., *An Advanced History of India*, Vol. III, p. 723.

39. The territory captured from the Bhonsle ruler in the third Anglo-Maratha War fought in November, 1817, was in the south and south-west of Bundelkhand and included Saugor and Asirgarh, and was surrounded by Bhopal and Khandesh on the west, Barar and Bhonsle Nagpur in the south, and Chhota Nagpur in the east. When the territories of Saugor and Narbada came under British rule they were first placed directly under the Indian Government, and were subsequently placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. In 1842 they were under an Agent

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Metcalf's Second Term

Metcalf was again requested to take over the Lieutenant-Governorship in the North-Western Provinces in 1836. This he was unwilling to do as he considered it to be "like tumbling down hill."⁴⁰ However, it became possible only after much persuasion by the Court of Directors, Lord Auckland, Metcalf's own sister Georgiana Smith, his closest friend Edmonstone and by a host of others. He took over on April 4, 1836.⁴¹ After serving in the North-Western Provinces for less than two years, Metcalf resigned on August 8, 1837, over certain unhappy relations with the Home Government.⁴² His short regime witnessed two natural calamities—bubonic plague in 1836⁴³ and the great famine of 1837.⁴⁴ He continued the land revenue settlement operations started by Robert Merttins Bird in accordance with Regulation IX of 1833.

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directly under the Government of India, and on a later date they were once again transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. And this state of thing continued till 1861 when they were included in the Central Provinces. Davidson's letter to Thomason, No. 237, dated October 30, 1843, Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of October 30, 1843; also Mehta, M. S., Lord Hardinge and the Indian States, p. 31; also Malcolm, J., Political History of India, Vol. I, p. 465; also Thornton's letter to Gray, No. 275, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 55 of April 26, 1850.

40. Metcalf was given every possible concession when he joined as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. For instance, he wanted to shift the Capital of the North-Western Provinces from Allahabad to Agra, and it was done. He was also made responsible for political relations with Gwalior and the Rajputana State. He was also empowered to appoint his A.D.C. and assistants. As a special case no change in his salary was made and it remained as before, i.e., Rs. 1,20,000 per year. (Narrative of Proceedings of Lieutenant-Governor in General Department, for April, May and June, 1836, vide Home Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 502; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 301; and Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 323).

41. Thompson, E., op. cit., pp. 322-323; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 278-280.

42. Auckland's Notification of January 1, 1838, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 7 of January 10, 1838; also Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 328; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 318-321.

43. Narrative of Proceedings of Lieutenant-Governor in General Department for April, May and June, 1836, vide Home Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 502.

44. Thompson, E., op. cit., p. 326.

Robertson in Office

Metcalfe was succeeded by T. C. Robertson on February 4, 1840.⁴⁵ It is worth noting that during the period (August 8, 1837, up to February 3, 1840) between Metcalfe's and Robertson's regimes, Lord Auckland had been carrying on the administration of the North-Western Provinces.⁴⁶ Robertson's term of office is mainly remembered for the recording of a detailed critical Minute on Bird's Settlement Report of the land revenue of the 25 districts, and the supply of men, money and material to make the First Anglo-Afghan War a success.⁴⁷

Clerk's Short Regime

Robertson was succeeded by G. R. Clerk on March 1, 1843.⁴⁸ During his regime some important administrative changes were introduced by the Home Government. They were the fixation of the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor at Rs. 7,000 per month (his house rent and establishment charges were not to exceed Rs. 1,100 per month), of his Secretary's at Rs. 2,000 per month,⁴⁹ and the sanction for the posts of two additional Aides-de-Camp.⁵⁰ Clerk's Minute for separating the offices of the Magistrate and Collector and the visit of Lord Ellenborough during his regime are the other events of importance.⁵¹

Clerk served as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for a period of nine months only, when he was succeeded by

45. Home Public Proceedings No. 1 of February 11, 1840.

46. Ibid.

47. In his Minute Robertson has severely criticised some of the features of Bird's Settlement. For instance the appointment of a paid watchman by the Government in every village, resumption of rent-free or Muafi lands and the interference in the hereditary landlord's rights, etc., are some of them. For details see Robertson's Minute on land revenue settlement operations, dated April 15, 1842; also Robinson, F.H., Question No. 6304, Commons Report 4th, 1852-1853, Vol. XXVIII; also Archibold, Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 511.

48. Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of October 30, 1843.

49. Ibid., also Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department, No. 1 of July 18, 1844, Vol. 502.

50. Of the two Aides-de-Camp, one of them was to act as Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, vide Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of October 30, 1843; also Home Miscellaneous Records General Department, No. 1 of July 18, 1844, Vol. 502.

51. Home Public Proceedings No. 6 of March 2, 1844.

Sir James Thomason on December 12, 1843, who remained in this office for ten years, the longest period ever served by any of his predecessors or successors in the North-Western Provinces.⁵² The history of the North-Western Provinces administration before the assumption of office by James Thomason was a chequered one, with four Governor and Lieutenant-Governors changing office in quick succession.

Emergence of North-Western Provinces

The beginning of Thomason's regime witnessed some important territorial readjustments in the North-Western Provinces. The Sagar and Narbada territories, and Bundelkhand were separated from the Province and entrusted to the Governor-General for their administration.⁵³ Thomason, therefore, did not claim any control over them, and as Thornton wrote he considered Awadh, Sagar and Narbada territories beyond his sphere.⁵⁴ Thus the shape of the North-Western Provinces during Thomason's time was like an "irregular Crescent."⁵⁵ Thornton has also sketched a graphic picture of the N.W. Provinces of that time in the following words:

"The North-Western Provinces lie between latitude 23.5, the extreme southerly point and latitude 30.26, the extreme northerly point; longitude 75.20, the extreme westerly point and 84.4, the extreme eastern point.... The North-Western Provinces proper are bounded on the north by Sarhind, Dehra Dun, Kumaon and Nepal; on the east by Nepal, Awadh and the Lower Provinces of Bengal;

52. Foreign Consultations Nos. 40-41 and 175-176 of November 18, 1843; also Home Public Consultations No. 7, I.P.L./43, No. 53 of October 30, 1843; also Foreign Consultations No. 1 of January 6, 1844.

53. "The Limits of North-Western Provinces will remain as they are now fixed, the affairs of the Saugor and Narbada territories and the Province of Bundelkhand being administered directly by the Government of India." The whole territory was formally separated from the North-Western Provinces in 1861 when the Central Provinces was created under a Commissioner, vide Davidson to Thomason No. 237, dated October 30, 1843, vide Home Proceedings, No. 7 of October 30, 1843; also Administration Report of the Central Provinces for 1911-12, p. 11; also Baden-Powell, B.H., Land Systems of British India, Vol. I, p. 748.

54. Thornton to Gray No. 275, vide Home Public Proceedings No. 55 of April 26, 1850.

55. Notes on the North-Western Provinces of India by a District Officer, p. 2.

on the south by Lower Provinces of Bengal and the native State of Rewa; and on the south-west by Bundelkhand, the Sindhia's territory and Rajputana."⁵⁶ The whole Province was divided into six Divisions, each under a Commissioner in the Regulation areas. They were: (1) the Delhi Division comprising the five districts of Panipat, Haryana, Delhi, Rohtak and Gurgaon; (2) the Meerut Division comprising the five districts of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr and Aligarh; (3) the Rohilkhand Division comprising the five districts of Bijnor, Moradabad, Badaun, Bareilly (and Pilibhit) and Shahjahanpur; (4) the Agra Division comprising the five districts of Mathura, Agra, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Etawah; (5) the Allahabad Division comprising the five districts of Kanpur, Fatehpur, Hamirpur (and Kalpi), Banda and Allahabad; (6) the Banaras Division comprised the six districts of Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Banaras and Ghazipur."⁵⁷

It is also worth noting that certain schemes started at the end of Clerk's regime were implemented during Thomason's time. The salary of the Lieutenant-Governor, as already stated, was reduced from Rs. 1,20,000 to Rs. 84,000 per year (Rs. 7,000 a month) plus personal staff establishment charges of Rs. 13,200 per year.⁵⁸ Another important economy measure adopted during Thomason's regime was the abolition of the post of one of the two Secretaries, and the remaining one was to get a fixed salary of Rs. 2,000 per month.⁵⁹ Thus as compared to Madras and Bombay Presidencies, as the following figures showing cost of the different provincial Governments in 1852 reveal, the North-Western Provinces as the "cheapest Government."⁶⁰

56. According to Raikes the North-Western Provinces had an area of 72,000 square miles and a population, 30 millions. vide Appendix 'A' in Raikes, C., *op. cit.*, p. 4; also Thornton, E., *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company*, Vol. III, p. 748.

57. Statistical Returns vide Home Public Proceedings No. 22 of January 18, 1847.

58. Home Public Proceedings No. 5 of March 18, 1840; also Davidson to Thomason No. 237, dated October 30, 1843, vide Home Public Proceedings Nos. 6-7 of October 30, 1843; also Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings No. 1 of July 18, 1844, Vol. 502; also Campbell, *Modern India*, p. 234.

59. Home Public Consultations No. 36 of 1845.

60. This included the amount of Rs. 1,28,400 expenditure on Secretariat, Rs. 84,000 as Lieutenant-Governor's salary, and Rs. 13,200 for his personal staff and establishment charges, vide for details see Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.

North-Western Provinces	.. ..	Rs. 2,25,600
Madras	.. ..	Rs. 6,09,240
Bombay	.. ..	Rs. 7,52,200

Another notable feature in the case of the Government of the North-Western Provinces was that there was no Council to assist the Lieutenant-Governor, as in other provinces.⁶¹

Thus the entire administrative set up of the North-Western Provinces, apart from the Lieutenant-Governor and the Secretary to the Government, comprised important officials like the Commissioners of revenue and police, the Zilla Judges, and the Collector-Magistrates—all of whom belonged to the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company.⁶² These officials were stationed all over the six Divisions of the North-Western Provinces. It is worth noting that there was a slight difference in the method of administration in the Regulation and non-Regulation area districts. In the Regulation areas the districts were kept under the Magistrate-Collector, whereas in the non-Regulation areas the head of the District was the Deputy Commissioner.⁶³ The Deputy Commissioner was in fact the counterpart of the Magistrate-Collector, who used to look after every sphere of activity and every branch of district administration beginning from the collection of revenue, police, public institutions up to welfare activities like maintenance of roads, bridges, serais and at times supervision of criminal justice.⁶⁴ For proper discharge of the administration he had a number of subordinate officers under his command comprising Police Inspector, Tahseeldar, Naib-Tahseeldar, Qanungo, Patwari, Serishtedar, Nazir, Record Keeper and a number of writers.⁶⁵ Of these officers, a Police Inspector and one Tahseeldar was posted at every Tahsil, sub-division of District, to look after the security and revenue duties respectively. Being the link between the people and the Magistrate-Collector, the Tahseeldar was an important officer whose services were often utilized for the disposal of summary revenue suits. He was always a highly paid official. To quote Campbell, the Tahseeldars specially “were so highly paid and

61. Ibid., loc. cit.

62. Raikes, C., op. cit. p. 5.

63. Campbell, op. cit., p. 239.

64. In the North-Western Provinces, as in Madras and Bombay, the offices of the Magistrate and Collector were united in one individual, so that all the executive representation of the Government remained united in one person, vide Ibid., loc. cit., p. 245, also Notes on the N.W.P. by A District Officer, p. 6.

65. Campbell, op. cit., p. 245.

well qualified that they may with advantage be made use of for superior duties."⁶⁶ Thus the *Tahseeldar* and the Police Inspector were the two important officers to look after the *Tahseel* administration. The *Pargana* and village administration was conducted by the *Qanungo* and *Patwari* respectively.⁶⁷ As regards *Serishtadars*, *Nazirs*, Record Keepers and writers, all were associated with the Magistrate-Collector's big establishment or office at the District headquarter.⁶⁸ Thus with almost an army of subordinate officers, the Magistrate-Collector used to carry out the district administration. One can have an idea of the important role played by the Magistrate-Collector in the North-Western Provinces from the following words of Campbell :

"The Magistrate may be considered the delegate of the ruling powers of the Government; the Collector is its agent in every thing that concerns its own interests and the interests of those connected with it in the land; but the two duties are intimately connected and the functions materially assist and affect one another."⁶⁹

The Magistrate-Collector used to put up in the same district which he was required to administer, whereas the Commissioner, his immediate superior, was stationed at the Divisional headquarter.⁷⁰ The main duty of the Commissioner was to co-ordinate the work of the Magistrate-Collector and keep a watch on their activities.⁷¹ Apart from revenue affairs, he was also to maintain law, peace and order through the Magistrate-Collector.⁷²

In the field of justice, *Sadar Diwani* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalats* were the chief civil and criminal tribunals respectively.⁷³ Apart from

66. The *Tahseeldars* were many a time promoted to the post of Deputy-Magistrates, vide *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

67. In Bengal Presidency there were no *Tahseeldars*, *Qanungos* and *Patwaris* and therefore the District-Magistrate was to look after each and every unit of district administration himself. vide Notes on the N.W.P. by A District Officer, p. 6.

68. Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., p. 150.

69. Campbell, op. cit., p. 242.

70. Raikes, C., op. cit., p. 4.

71. Lord's Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXXIII, p. 152; also Thornton to Davidson, dated July 1, 1844, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 19 of July 20, 1844.

72. Lord's Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXXIII, p. 152; also Land Revenue Proceedings No. (7) of September 3, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings No. 19 of July 20, 1844.

73. Appendix (A) of Raikes, C., op. cit., pp. 184-185.

being the highest courts of appeal, these tribunals were also given the power of executive superintendence over the other courts of the province like the courts of the District Judges, the Sessions Judges, and those of the Principal Sadar Amins, Sadar Amins and Munsifs.⁷⁴ For carrying out this strictly organised and regulated system of Sadar Adalats, there was a team of highly paid Judges whose powers were limited to the administration of civil justice, the trial of criminal cases of the sessions, and the hearing of appeals from orders passed by the Magistrates in criminal trials.⁷⁵

Centralization as Key-stone

It is also important to note another feature of the Government of the North-Western Provinces that it was "an intensely centralized Government."⁷⁶ For all acts beyond those of ordinary routine it was necessary for each and every official to obtain the previous sanction of the superior authorities. Even the most ordinary business was required to be reported to them in a form which kept the controlling authorities and the Government well aware of all that was going on in the Tahsil, District, Division and Province. Thus in all cases whether he was Tahseeldar, Magistrate-Collector, Deputy Commissioner, Commissioner or Lieutenant-Governor, every one worked under strict supervision and had no independence.

In this connection it will not be out of place to have a general idea of the economic and social conditions prevailing in the North-Western Provinces at that time although they will be discussed specially in subsequent chapters. The province on the whole was an agricultural area and much of the economic life of the people depended upon their land and its cultivation. "Most of the needs of the people of the village were satisfied locally; it grew its own food, made its own implements, wove its own cloth for daily requirements, moulded its own utensils and depended on the outside world only for a little of salt and spices and some jewellery and fine cloth for festive occasions."⁷⁷ The majority of the artisans were servants of the village who had either their own plots of land which they had sometimes rent-free and sometimes at a reduced rent, or

74. Ibid., loc. cit.

75. Ibid., loc. cit.

76. Campbell, op. cit., p. 242.

77. Ibbetson, Report on the Census of the Punjab (1861), p. 18; also Fane, Five Years in India, Vol. I, pp. 66-67; also Eden, E., Up the Country, pp. 351-352.

received a fixed portion of the produce of the soil from every cultivator of the village. In exchange, they rendered their services to the village people free of charge throughout the year.⁷⁸ Besides these artisans, there were a few whose services were not required regularly and hence they were not village servants. "Weavers, goldsmiths and betel-sellers belonged to this class and served the people on payment. All occupations were hereditary. Competition had no place in such an economic set-up, and, therefore there was no incentive to progress or change and improvement."⁷⁹ The necessities of life were cheap and the cost of living was low. Some of the contemporary views regarding the low cost of living further help in giving a complete idea of it. A lady named Fanny Parks describes a dinner party in which eight guests were entertained by twenty-three servants. She further says that she herself had fifty-four servants, while at another place she informs that fifty-seven servants cost Rs. 290 per month.⁸⁰ Minturn also gives an account of the low cost of living by informing that coolies and bhangi carriers charged Rs. 17 per head for carrying a doli from Agra to Bombay, and had to come back without a cargo.⁸¹

Social conditions as sketched by Crooke present a rather disappointing picture. There were three principal classes of society—the *zamindar* or the better-class yeoman, *Mahajan* or moneylender, and small cultivator or artisan.⁸² The first two classes resided in quite commodious and beautiful houses whereas the class of the small cultivator or the artisan lived in small houses with clay walls and thatched roofs.⁸³ But on the whole the dwelling of the poorer tenant or the artisan was cleaner and less exposed to insanitary conditions than that of his richer neighbour. Crooke also reports that

78. An Enquiry into the Economic Condition of the Agricultural and Labouring Classes in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, (1888), p. 24.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

80. Fanny Parks, vide Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 415.

81. Cited in Bhanu, D., *op. cit.*, p. 402; for details see also Lawrence, *Six Years in the North West*, pp. 97-98; also Wynnne. F., *Sketches of India*, p. 93.

82. Crooke, W., *The North-Western Provinces of India*, pp. 265-266.

83. The roof "leaks freely in the rains, and when the fierce summer hot wind blows, a fire once started in such a village spreads with dangerous rapidity and often leads to loss of life as the inmates struggle to save their meagre property," vide Crooke, W., *op. cit.*, p. 266.

"the floor and outer cooking-place are carefully plastered; the cattle are less disagreeably prominent, and the unsubstantial materials of which the hut consists allow better ventilation."⁸⁴ The domestic arrangements were "squalid in the extreme."⁸⁵ There was utter absence of inventiveness as applied to domestic or industrial life. For instance, the plough and other agricultural implements were of the traditional form. Labour-saving tools and appliances were not fancied for labour was cheap and plenty. The shape of spinning-wheel, the flour mill, the curry pounder, the loom, the tools of the blacksmith or carpenter did not change.⁸⁶ The dress of the people too did not register much change. Crooke observes that "The woman's skirt, mantle or bodice never vary in form, and the lady of the West, with her inventiveness in the way of millinery, is quite beyond the ken of the oriental women. All that contact with western civilization has given them a greater variety of material, a wider and brighter range of colour. The men wear the turban, loin cloth and jacket of coarse cotton cloth, which we know from the monuments has been unchanged for nearly twenty centuries. So, in the poorer household the variety of food is very limited, and the people never seem to carve a change of dishes or seasoning. A little pepper and turmeric, a few common spices, exhaust the list of relishes. In the wealthier family the range of delicacies, in the form of curries and sweetmeats, is much greater. In the nutritiousness and variety of his food the Mussalman has a great advantage over the Hindu particularly on a journey, when the latter must confine himself to parched grain, greasy sweets or cakes."⁸⁷ The principal

84. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

85. The following observation of Crooke will make the condition more clear: "The small peasant's furniture consists of a foul rickety cots, some brass cooking utensils, a stone of red earthen pottery, a stool or two for the children, a box for clothes or other petty valuables, a mud granary in which the grain supply of the household is stored. In the house of the yeoman or small proprietor the only obvious difference is that brass pots are in greater abundance and the women folk own more heavy silver jewellery, in which, in default of banks of deposit, the surplus income is invested. If the owner has a few spare rupees he piles them in an earthen cup and hides them in a hole of the mud wall or under the place where he does his cooking. The village banker does the same as far as he can, for he is in constant dread of thieves who cut away his mud walls with a chisel during the moonless nights and clear off all his moveables," vide *Ibid.*, p. 268.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

87. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

signs of change in rural life were the general use of lucifer matches and umbrellas, the substitution of kerosene for vegetable oils. In urban life things were different and watches and cutlery, petty trumpery of all kinds, mostly of French or German manufacture were largely sold.⁸⁸

Some of the social evils like *sati* and infanticide common among the Hindu society of that age also affected the North-Western Provinces. As regards the *sati* system, it was more popular in Bengal than in the North-Western Provinces.⁸⁹ The Regulation XVII of 1829 which had declared this practice as illegal and punishable by the criminal courts had curbed it greatly.⁹⁰ Persons subscribing to the performance of *sati* were to be charged with culpable homicide.⁹¹ The result of this Regulation was that the Hindu community was horrified. The continuance of the *sati* system in the North-Western Provinces when Thomason took up the reins of administration was discouraged and the practice became increasingly infrequent.

Another great social evil of female infanticide had long been practised in the North-Western Provinces. It was more prevalent among the Rajputs,⁹² especially the *Chauhans*. The early accounts of Jonathan Duncan, Shakespeare, R. Montgomery, Unwin, etc., are full of information about this evil practice in the North-Western Provinces. While touring the frontiers of the Jaunpur district in 1789, Duncan⁹³ noticed this social evil. He informed Lord Cornwallis about it on October 2, 1789, and forwarded a translation of an agreement on December 23 of the same year into which the Rajputs of Banaras had entered with the Resident binding themselves to put an end to this evil practice.⁹⁴ After Duncan, Robert

88. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

89. Kaye, J.W., *Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 531 and 539; also Walker, F.D., William Carey, pp. 245-246.

90. Regulation XVII of 1829; also Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, pp. 57-60.

91. Regulation XVII of 1829.

92. The reason for infanticide was two-fold—the high cost of the marriage of girls and a false notion of prestige. Col. J. Tod realized that “although religion nowhere authorises this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage among the Rajputs powerfully promote infanticide.” vide Tod, J., *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 547; also see Kaye, J.W., *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 573.

93. Jonathan Duncan was the Resident at Banaras in 1789 and later Governor of Bombay.

94. *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. I, No. II, 1844, p. 377.

Montgomery, Magistrate of Allahabad, invited the attention of the Government to this practice.⁹⁵ He reports that "I appointed a *chaprasi* to reside in each village whose sole duty it was to report the birth of female child in the family of any of the Rajputs. I also bound the *gorait*, *chaukidar* and the midwives under a heavy penalty, to report separately each birth at the *thana*, the four thus acting as a check on each other. I directed the *Thanedar*, on the death of any female infant being reported, to hold an inquest on the body and afterwards transit it to the civil surgeon for examination. I associated the *tehsildar* with the *thanedar* in order to ensure a more efficient superintendence."⁹⁶ The result of such steps was that out of every four girls born, three lived.⁹⁷ Similar steps were taken by Shakespeare and Unwin. According to Shakespeare, "the Rajputs of the province indulged in infanticide to nearly the same degree as formerly, though a greater degree of caution was preserved to prevent detection."⁹⁸ Mr. Unwin, the Magistrate-Collector of Mainpuri district, while revising the land settlement in 1842 also casually began a census of the population in order to find out the effects of the famine of 1837-38 on the people. As a result he came to know that there was not a single *Chauhan* girl, old or young, in the district.⁹⁹ He also like others took prompt steps to check this practice in this district. According to the figures available there were about 1,500 *Chauhan* girls in the district between the ages 1 and 6 years whereas in 1842 there were none.¹⁰⁰

Apart from the two social evils in the North-Western Provinces the state of general lawlessness continued to exist. Dacoity increased in Saharanpur almost to the stage of insurrection.¹⁰¹

The Awadh frontiers on three sides of the North-Western Provinces were also a source of constant danger to the peace of the province. The weak Government of Awadh had no control over these frontier areas, while in the interior of that Kingdom also the

95. Report of the Magistrate of Allahabad, 1841, vide the Calcutta Review, Vol. I, No. II, 1844, pp. 377-378.

96. Ibid., loc. cit.

97. Ibid., loc. cit.

98. Shakespeare's Report of April 30, 1816, cited in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 19.

99. Raikes, C., op. cit., pp. 18-22.

100. Ibid., loc. cit.

101. Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (1908), Vol. I, p. 31.

conditions were not very enviable. "The country was difficult—there were no roads and travelling on bullock carts, etc., was very troublesome. For this reason it was difficult to wrest people gently of these crimes and as a result thereof the people of the neighbouring districts of the North-Western Provinces had to suffer from their depredations."¹⁰² Bands of bandits and robbers used to enter the province from outside especially from Awadh and the Sindhia's territories.¹⁰³ Robertson, the Commissioner of Agra, also reported that the Awadh territory "offered complete immunity to our proclaimed offenders who all throng thither."¹⁰⁴ Under such conditions Thomason was to pilot the ship of the state. How successfully he steered the bark can only be determined after the ascertainment of his precise contribution to the different departments of the Government whose captaincy chiefly rested with him.

102. Auckland on Administration of Justice in 1836, vide Home, Miscellaneous Records (Judicial) No. 18 of December 10, 1837.

103. Metcalfe was convinced that though the robbers had their origin outside the Company's territories, "they must generally have local aid in the vicinity of the places of their attack." vide Metcalfe to Auckland on January 11, 1837, No. 1421, Home, Judicial Proceedings, No. 12 of February 27, 1837.

104. Thornton to Elliot, 193 A of May 27, 1847, vide Home, Judicial Proceedings, No. 6 of October 23, 1847; also Minute of Alexander Ross, vide Home, Judicial Proceedings, No. 15 of February 27, 1837; also Police Report of the Agra Presidency for 1835, vide Home, Miscellaneous Records (Judicial), No. 1 of April 30, 1836.

CHAPTER III

Designing a Land Revenue System

A Historical Resume

The land problem forms the nucleus of the predominantly agricultural economy of India. With the progressive decline of the renowned Indian textile industry and cottage handicrafts in the first half of the 19th century, pressure on land became tremendous and it remained the only source of the nation's subsistence and the most important source of State revenue. Land revenue administration of a right order, therefore, became the primary and fundamental responsibility of the Government. On the nature of land organization depended the prosperity of the country and its people, social harmony, internal peace, tranquillity and security of the realm.

Almost all the British land revenue systems and settlements beginning from the Permanent Settlement¹ were superstructures built on the prevailing systems. The superstructures, however, were so loaded by changing circumstances and conditions that even the roots of the old system were shaken so much so that their spirit and concepts could hardly be retained. The unsympathetic foreign rule, the Englishman's ignorance of Indian situation, growing financial needs of the East India Company, the excesses of the new class of speculating Indian revenue farmers and the zeal of the European revenue collectors cut at the roots of the old ethical principles of public weal. During the period of conquests and consolidation of British empire, the main object before the Company was the realization of the largest possible revenue for waging wars. This introduced the main evil in the land systems in India.

Lord William Bentinck had taken a keen interest in the land revenue reforms in the North-Western Provinces (then known as the

1. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 113-116; also Strachey, J., India—Its Administration and Progress, p. 379.

Upper Provinces).² It was because of him that Regulation IX of 1833 was passed with the object of improving the machinery for revising land revenue. In the first instance it was applied to Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand and Delhi divisions. Subsequently, parts of Allahabad and Banaras divisions³ were also included. Robert Mertins Bird, a former Member of the Board of Revenue, had been entrusted with the work of settlement operations before Thomason took over the charge. In order, therefore, to form a correct estimate of Thomason's revenue policy, it is essential to trace the question of settlements from the time of his predecessor, Bird.

The procedure which Bird had followed was examined by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. As a witness before the Committee Bird said, "the settlement was made upon the land, not upon the crop, and the people cultivated what they thought was best for their interests."⁴ Bird did not at all depend upon earlier Settlement Officers who had usually been Collectors and Magistrates. He selected his own fresh assistants and subordinates who had no other duties besides settlement to attend to. They devoted their full time to settlement which was made on the basis of rights of ownership and the assets of the land that had already been prepared by the *patwaris* of the villages for the settlement office.⁵ The process of the land settlement as adopted by Bird cut down all the unnecessary details that existed in the settlement of 1822. With the following objects before him, Bird started his work :⁶

1. Demarcation of the exterior boundaries of villages and estates.
2. Demarcation of the component portions of a village, the

2. Vide Supra Ch. II, S.V. 'The North-Western Provinces before Thomason', Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of August 1, 1805.

3. Bird's Memorandum on Land Revenue Settlement, dated February 22, 1842, vide Home Revenue Proceedings No. 7-8 of August 21, 1844.

4. House of Commons Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXVIII, Question No. 5600, 5648 and 5649.

5. The Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum, Vol. XLII, Part I, April 1964, p. 187.

6. Despatch of the Court of Directors, to the Governor-General on August 13, 1851, vide House of Commons Report, 1852, Vol. X, Appendix 19; vide also Dutt, R., *The Economic History of India*, Vol. II, p. 24.

recording of the several rights comprised therein and providing for their maintenance.

3. Resumption of all hidden rent-free lands brought to light by the surveys.
4. Recasting or reduction of the Talukas and large estates.
5. Revision of the previous assessments and settlements.
6. Correction of the system and proper maintenance of accounts at the Tahseeldar's office and proper arrangement of their records.
7. Better division of the kists or instalments of revenue payable by the cultivator to the Government.
8. Formation of a fund for the construction of roads.
9. Establishment of a provision for the support of the village police.

The process followed by him was :

1. To make a rough summary of all the land within a fiscal area.
2. To make a map including every field.
3. To make a professional survey showing the cultivated and uncultivated land.
4. To fix the Land Tax for the entire fiscal area.
5. To apportion the entire amount amongst the villages contained within the area.⁷

With these objects in view, minute enquiries were made into the actual produce of land and cost of its production. Village records were investigated, scrutinized, carefully corrected and used as incontestable bases for calculating the rental assets. *Shajras* (field maps) and *Khasras* (field registers) were duly maintained. Inefficient and ill-qualified *patwaris* were dismissed. The total number of *patwaris* dismissed in 1833 was 2,523.⁸ The Settlement Officers, who had been relieved of their judicial work, were asked by Bird to pay the greatest attention to settlement work. The Calcutta Review gives us a glimpse of the hard and busy life of this officer :

"We see him (Settlement Officer) in the early morning mist, stretching at an inspiring gallop over the dewy fields...on his way to some distant point, where measurements are to be tested, doubts

7. Despatch to the Governor-General (August 13, 1851), *op. cit.*
8. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 38 of March 24, 1843.

resolved or objections investigated....The forenoon is spent in receiving reports from the native officers employed under him; in directing their operations: in examining, comparing, analysing and arranging the various information which comes in from all quarters. As the day advances the widespread shade begins to be peopled with living figures. Group after group of villagers arrive....liti-gants and spectators take their seats on the ground in orderly ranksand the rural court is opened. As case after case is forwarded the very demeanour of the parties and of the crowds around, seems to point on which side justice lies...."⁹

Apart from this, some of the changes which Bird had introduced in the system of land revenue settlement were: (1) adoption of the Hindi language in place of the Persian as the medium of official transactions;¹⁰ (2) sale of land for payment of arrears of land revenue; (3) special charge upon the agriculturists for the creation of a road fund; (4) collection of a cess from the village cultivators for the establishment of village police; (5) collection of land revenue in eight or nine instalments falling due on the first of each month of the fasli year or from October to June; and (6) leaving one-fifth of the cultivable land untaxed to allow for raising artificial grasses or other fodder for cattle, and allowing for fallows and chance dereliction.¹¹ These changes improved the administrative machinery, simplified the technique of assessment of land revenue and made it more practicable than the previous one of 1822.

The new revenue system was introduced for a period of thirty years, but in some special cases, settlement for twenty or even ten years was preferred. The standard of assessment was 75 per cent of the gross rental or assets of the estates as its land revenue.¹² After working diligently over the revision of assessment for full nine years, Bird surveyed and assessed twenty-five districts of the province. They

9. For further details, 'Settlement of the North-Western Provinces', vide the Calcutta Review, No. XXIV, Vol. December, 1849, pp. 466-467.

10. This change was brought about, however, only in the Bundelkhand and Sagar Territories to begin with, where the Nagari script and Hindi language were almost universally used. vide Secretary, Board of Revenue to Commissioners of Divisions on July 29, 1836, Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 32 of July 29, 1836.

11. Bird's Memorandum of February 22, 1842. vide Home Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 7-8 of August 24, 1844.

12. Antanova, K. A., Goldberg, H. M., and Osipov, A.M., *Novaya Istoriya Indii*, (Moscow, 1961), pp. 248-251.

were : Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hissar in Delhi Division; Saharanpur, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Aligarh and Sardhana in Meerut Division, Bijnor, Budaun, Pilibhit, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand Division; Mathura, Agra, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Etawah in Agra Division; Kanpur, Fatehpur and Allahabad in Allahabad Division; and Gorakhpur and Azamgarh in Banaras Division.¹³ Bird formally submitted his Settlement Report of the province to the Lieutenant-Governor on February 22, 1842.¹⁴

Early Efforts Towards Revenue Administration

A critical assessment of Bird's land revenue settlement of 1833 in the North-Western Provinces gives an idea of the motives of British industrial interests. Most of his measures seem to have been directed towards the creation of conditions for more intensive exploitation of the province in British interests. In a way, Bird set an example which was later on followed by the Bombay and Madras Presidencies in the late forties and early fifties of the nineteenth century. The revenue under the new land settlement (1833), as has already been said, depended on land and not on the crops. This meant that the colonial authorities had rather forced the peasants to use the land for raising more valuable export crops. The landowner made responsible for payment of revenue, got the right of free disposition of his possession and to do with it as he liked. The revenue charged both from the land of the landlords as also from the land belonging to the peasants was 75 per cent of the gross assets in 1833.¹⁵ Earlier it had been half of the value of the gross produce.

Many feudal possessions which were previously free from payment of land revenue were now assessed. Among them were many representatives of Hindu and Muslim priesthood. Besides this, the possessions of big feudal talukdars were reduced and so they were most dissatisfied with the Settlement conducted according to Regulation IX of 1833.¹⁶ "They found their power of extorting money from the ryots very much curtailed.... The taulkars not only had their very power of exacting rent

13. Bird's Memorandum of February 22, 1842, vide Home, Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 7-8 of August 24, 1844; also Land Revenue G. G. Nos. 10-12 of May 20, 1842; also for detailed figure of Assessment, vide Appendix 'D'.

14. Bird's Memorandum (February 22, 1842), op. cit.

15. Dutt, R., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 34.

16. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 114.

limited, but they were actually discharged altogether from the management of those estates....so that they lost both in money and position."¹⁷ T.C. Robertson, the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W. Provinces, who wrote a careful and detailed Minute on April 15, 1842, on Bird's Settlement Report had cited some of the examples of such feudal talukdars whose condition was made deplorable and who were treated as usurpers by the Settlement Officers. One such instance as given by Robertson is that of the Raja of Mainpuri (in Agra Division) who had rendered great service at the time of Holkar's invasion of the Ceded and Conquered Districts in 1804, but even he "was, without reference to the Government, deprived entirely, he and his successors in perpetuity, of all powers of interference in 116 out of the 158 villages included in his taluka, which had descended to him in regular succession before the introduction of the British rule."¹⁸ As a result of these measures, the total sum coming to the treasury from land revenue increased, leaving the talukdars utterly discontented.

Another anomaly under the new settlement was an attempt to break up the village community. Though the earlier system of collective responsibility was maintained in the North-Western Provinces, yet from area to area, step by step, the individual responsibility of the Pattidars for payment of revenue was established. R. Dutt has also remarked, "The village Patwari paid by the Government, is the master of the situation in North India today; and to him is entrusted the powers which should legitimately belong to the representatives of the people—the village landlord or the village community. To flatten the whole surface of society as eventually to leave little of distinguishable eminence between the ruling power and the cultivators of the soil is not a policy of wisdom in India."¹⁹ This was as good as in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies during this time where conditions of possession and use of land according to law did no more depend on membership of the village community.²⁰ Similarly, the fixation of revenue for a long period and the recognition of the landholders' right to free disposition of their

17. F. H. Robinson, Question No. 6304, House of Commons 4th Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXVIII.

18. Robertson's Minute on land revenue settlement operations, dated April 15, 1842.

19. Dutt, R., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 31 and 89; also Metcalfe, C.T., Minute of the Board of Revenue, November 17, 1830.

20. Antanova, K.A., Goldberg, H.M., and Osipov, A.M., op. cit., pp. 248-249.

land—measures directed to the destruction of village community—helped in the development of the peasant's private property in land. After the introduction of the new Settlement, the lands of the community, as well as those of the *Pattidars* and also of petty feudals acquired more value. These were now taken for payment of loans and debts by the members of merchant money-lender caste. These land possessions were now converted into objects of sale and purchase. Of all assessed land in the districts of Mathura, Aligarh, Fatehpur and Kanpur 33 per cent, 84 per cent, 72 per cent, and 62 per cent respectively had changed hands due to this factor.²¹

Limitations

The weakest points in the Regulation were the grant of widest latitude and discretion to Settlement Officers and the existence of uncertainty regarding the liabilities of agriculturists. Uniformity in assessment was only approximate. It lacked scientific accuracy. The rental of the entire fiscal area was ascertained by the Settlement Officer by guess-work which proved to be the greatest shortcoming in the Settlement. The agriculturists too could not be very sure of their liabilities, for no two Settlement Officers could fix the same demand, as there was no hard and fast rule for it. The result was that every revision produced fresh and completely different records.²²

In addition to the unscientific and oppressive assessment system, the mode of collection of land revenue was equally extortionate. In Karnal, for example, "136 horsemen were retained for the collection of the revenue, while 22 sufficed for the police duties of the same tract," with the result that in order to escape ruin "the inhabitants of some villages, nearly *en masse*, had abandoned their lands and homes and migrated to distant parts."²³ In fact, the revenue reports

21. District Gazetteers, U.P., Banaras (1908-1913), Vol. II, page 151; Vol. IV, p. 134; Vol. XIX, p. 129; Vol. XX, p. 124.

22. Regarding this conjectural assessment, Bird writes: "We then proceeded to investigate the assessment of the Government tax upon that tract (fiscal area), finding out, as best we could from the previous payments and from the statements of the people themselves, from the nature of the crops and the nature of the soil, and such various means as experience furnished us, what might be considered a fair demand for the Government to lay upon it." This shows that the produce was never scientifically measured and ascertained. vide Bird's Memorandum (February 22, 1842), *op. cit.*; also Moreland, Revenue Administration in U.P., p. 35.

23. Settlement Report of the Karnal District (1872-80), p. 47.

of those days are full of such remarks as "this village is entirely abandoned; half the villagers have run away; only five families left in this village."²⁴

A painful picture of overassessment and the sufferings of the peasantry runs thus: "The village of Chatra Bahadurpur which had been assessed for Rs. 860 was made to pay Rs. 1,400; Malka Mazra, assessed at Rs. 2,180, beat Chatra Bahadurpur hollow in poverty and privation; Kishanpur, assessed at Rs. 4,130, was inhabited by a few *zamindars* only and they were all intolerably intimate with poverty; and Atael which suffered more than any of the villages on account of overassessment was deserted completely by its inhabitants."²⁵ A similar tale of overassessment and the misery of the villages by previous settlements is told in John Lawrence's report on the settlement of the Rewari *pargana* of Gurgaon district, which he did in 1836.²⁶ Though he reduced land revenue in the district, the oppressed peasantry did not feel any substantial relief. The Settlement Report of the Rohtak district too reveals almost the same gruesome situation, where "injudiciously heavy revenues" greatly retarded the progress of the district."²⁷

The new landlord as a rule obtained an increase in rent threatening eviction. He exploited the peasants not only as landowner but also as moneylender. English revenue officials "in the provinces wrote that new landowners were always ready to advance the peasants loans on 30 per cent and sometimes even on 36 per cent" interest. The poor tenant got so much used to such a woeful state that he thought none of his efforts would lead to his liberation; and that given a good harvest, his loan would decrease a little and with a bad one, it would grow. The *zamindar*, who was also the moneylender, got his corn at a cheap rate and sold it when the prices went up. The tenants thus always remained under the foot of the elephant.²⁸

The changes in the landownership following the reforms provid-

24. Ibid., p. 48.

25. Settlement Report of the Delhi District, p. 48.

26. Douie, *The Punjab Settlement Manual*, p. 10.

27. Settlement Report of the Rohtak District (1873-1876), p. 138.

28. Antanova, K.A., Goldberg, H.M., and Osipov, A.M., op. cit., pp. 248-251.

29. Atkinson, E.T., *Statistical Description and Historical Account of North-Western Provinces*, Vol. IV, (1876), p. 340.

ed the English capital with the extraction of marketable produce of agriculture as a result of intensification of the feudal exploitation of the peasantry. The decay of feudal relations too had begun. A sign of this was the weakening of the non-economic compulsion and the destruction of the community order in landownership. A still further exploitation of peasantry as a result of conversion of the country into a market for the manufactured goods and source of raw materials, brought havoc and mass hunger. Famines visited various regions of the country seven times and took some 1,500 thousand lives in the first half of the 19th century. In the North-Western Provinces the famine of 1837 took a toll of 800 thousand lives, i.e., more than half of all those who died in famine in the first fifty years of the 19th century.³⁰ Thus, on the whole, the devastating changes particularly in the sphere of landownership, which took place in the thirties in the North-Western Provinces made both the peasantry as well as the old feudals extremely miserable.

Thomason's Contribution

This was the state of affairs when Thomason took over from Bird. Thomason, who in fact, completed the work of Bird, was not much satisfied with the new Settlement scheme and policy. He observed that the landowner, whose land the moneylender takes away for debts, hates his Government more than the moneylender. He felt that for him there is no other way out except the abolition of the system itself.³¹ Thus for saving himself and his Government from being made the object of hatred, Thomason took up the whole problem with all seriousness and himself pointed out the dark sides of his predecessor's plan of Settlement. To him, the main value of a Settlement rested on the following considerations :

"Whoever may be in theory the proprietor of land in India, the absence of all actual restriction on supreme power in the determination of the amount of its demand left all property in land virtually dependent on its will. An estate assessed above its productive power is worthless, and must cease to produce anything to the proprietor, unless the demand is relaxed. So long as the worth of the land is left from year to year dependent on the pleasure of the Government, its value must be uncertain, and cannot be great. But when the Government limits its demand to a reasonable amount, and

30. Antanova, K. A., Goldberg, R. M., and Osipov, A. M. op. cit., pp. 248-251.

31. Mead, H., *The Sepoy Revolt*, (1857), p. 318.

fixes that amount for a term of years, a marketable property is thereby created, and it becomes of much importance than the person be named in whose favour this property is recognized or created."³²

With these principles in view, Thomason, at the very outset, checked all the previous revenue accounts, particularly for the years 1840-41 and 1841-42, and after studying the peculiar circumstances that had attended them, analysed the whole plan. In his despatch No. 19 to the Governor-General, he gives a detailed abstract of Accounts in the land revenue department from 1834-35 to 1841-42 showing great variations both in the demands and collections. Some of the important objections noted by Thomason in connection with the aforesaid variations³³ are also worth mentioning here. He was the first to point out the evils of the method pursued in the collection of land revenue that existed before 1840. As already referred to, the revenue of land in the North-Western Provinces, before Thomason's time, was collected in 8 or 9 instalments falling due on the 1st of each month of the Fasli year, from Ashwin, the 10th month corresponding with October to Jevth and the 9th with June. The collections began on the 1st of each Hindu month, while the amount did not appear in the Government accounts till the first of the next or the following Christian month. Thomason, therefore, was reasonable enough in feeling that this system created unnecessary confusion and made the task of compilation of accounts difficult. He observed that as the Fasli year did not always correspond with the civil year, the collections were always at variance with the demands. One of the reasons of this discrepancy may be attributed to the occurrence of 1st of May in the harvesting season of the spring crops.³⁴ Misconceptions and erroneous conclusions from this source caused a lot of inconvenience and occasioned much trouble before the real circumstances of the case could be explained. There was always a possibility of embezzlement of money.³⁵ Moreover, the land revenue had to be paid by the agriculturists, before the crop was removed

32. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 184.

33. They are well-indicated in his Abstract of Accounts in the Land Revenue Department from 1834-35 to 1841-42. vide Appendix 'E'.

34. Thomason's Despatches, Document No. 19, Letter No. 2263, Vol. I, p. 127; also Rushton, Almanac for 1850, Part II, p. 20.

35. Rushton, op. cit., loc. cit.; also for further details, vide the correspondence between the Secretary to Government and the Secretary, Sudder Board of Revenue, dated 13th October, 1834; 6th February, 1835; 26th February, 1835; 18th April, 1835; 9th November,

from the field, which caused great hardship. The instalments of revenue fell due before the crops could be cut. Collectors and *tahseeldars* instituted watchmen over the crops (for which, of course, they were empowered), so as to prevent their removal, before the Government demand was paid or security furnished for its ultimate payment.³⁶ This resulted in a great many proprietors living simply from hand to mouth. Not only that, it also resulted in giving birth to a glaring economic paradox. These people had crops but no capital. The wherewithal to money, but not the money itself. Pressed by the urgency of the demands, they were driven into the clutches of moneylenders and could secure loans only at usurious rates of interest. They could not claim the crops grown on their soil to be their own until the demand was liquidated or recognizable collateral security for the payment of the outstanding demand was furnished by them.³⁷ Even Rushton in his 'Almanac' has criticised this system as "the rude device of a state of society where there was little security for life or property and where property had consequently lost its value."³⁸

Recognizing the utter injustice of such a procedure, Thomason thought of adopting some less objectionable methods of realising the demand. He suggested a two-fold change in the revenue system: the number of the *kists* (instalments) was reduced; and they were thrown further forward in the year. In a circular addressed to the Sadar Board of Revenue he made it clear that the revenue demands were to be realized in four instalments. November 15th and December or January 15th were fixed as the dates for the realization of the instalments upon the autumn of *kharif* crops. Similarly, on April 15th and May or June 15th the instalments pertaining to the spring crops were payable.³⁹ Soon after, a second change was made, and the demand on the *Rabi kists* was still further postponed so as not to fall earlier than May 1st, and June 1st, or altogether in the new civil year of account.⁴⁰ By this new system of instalments the Government, to a great extent, voluntarily gave up its lien on the crop,

1835; 20th November, 1835; 12th April, 1836; 26th September, 1837; and 12th April, 1837, as cited by James Thomason in his letter No. 2263, Document No. 19; Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 127.

36. For further details see Regulation XXVII of 1803.

37. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 19, p. 128.

38. Rushton, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 20.

39. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 19, Letter No. 2263, p. 129.

40. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

and encouraged the agriculturists to cut, carry and sell their produce, and then pay their revenue from the proceeds of the sale. It was, however, not enthusiastically received by many sections of Indian society. "The native officers were opposed to it, because it increased the difficulties of their work, and deprived them of many established sources of petty gain. The capitalist and petty moneylenders were averse to it, because it deprived them of the advantages and power they possessed before. The large extravagant proprietary communities of Goojurs or Rajpoots profited little by it because they always lived thoughtlessly, and knew not how to keep money when it once came into their hands. Those whom it most benefited were the least influential and intelligent class of the community, viz., the industrious and thrifty cultivators."⁴¹ This system was also highly satisfactory and convenient to the Government in the sense that the accounts were now maintained properly without much trouble and confusion.

Another defect pointed out by Thomason in the old system was the state of property. In his Minute of the 19th October, 1844, he said, "Throughout the North-Western Provinces we find a large number of the villages held by communities of cultivators whose relations with each other are adjusted by peculiar rules of very different form. The one pervading principle is that of separate and joint responsibility. Each proprietor is primarily responsible for payment of the share of the Government revenue due from his portion of the estate. The whole community are ultimately responsible for the amount due from the entire Mahal. The Government make it a rule to proceed first against the individuals separately, but on failure of efforts to realize from them, they are able to proceed against the whole body jointly; and there is nothing to prevent their proceeding in the first instance against the community, if such a course be considered preferable.... It is needless to enquire whether this is a desirable state of property. It was the state we found existing when we acquired the country, to which the people were much attached, and which could not have been altered without great injustice. It was sometime before the real state of property became known, and during that period many errors were committed and much injustice done."⁴²

41. Ibid., p. 133.

42. Minute on the subject of furnishing Civil Decrees to Collectors by Sir James Thomason, 19th October, 1844; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 20, Letter No. 138, p. 137.

In the early days of British rule in the North-Western Provinces all questions pertaining to individual rights were decided by the ordinary courts of Justice. People were unaccustomed to examine questions regarding rights of property with a view to their classifica-

Quoting Thomason's views on these matters, Temple observes : "It is surprising even to this day how ill-informed native gentlemen are on the subject (1849). But still less were they able then (1803-1833) to appreciate the change that had been effected in the old village institutions by engrafting on them the modes of procedure adopted by the British Government. The English functionaries, on the other hand, understood their own rules, but had no leisure to study the old institutions of the country. Injustice and confusion necessarily ensued. Designing men usurped rights which did not belong to them, and blunders of all possible kinds were committed by those who ought to have protected the rights of the weaker parties. In such confusion litigation increased, till the whole machinery of the judicial administration was choked, and it became necessary to take active measures to introduce order and certainty where hitherto confusion and uncertainty only had reigned."⁴³

A New Orientation

It must be said in this connection that in spite of the intrinsic attitude of Thomason in solving the settlement problem in a more reasonable and sympathetic manner, he justified the gross injustice and oppression of his predecessors like a shrewd British statesman. In a nutshell, what he obviously meant was: (1) that the populace had no principle whatsoever in matters of property rights; (2) that without great injustice and tyranny, this state of confusion could not possibly have been mended; and (3) that the people could not even appreciate that it was only with the gracious presence of the Britishers that uncertainties were removed and law and order prevailed in the country. There is no doubt that some parties had always caused havoc in the economic situation in their own interest, but Thomason seems to have overlooked the precise Codes of Hindu and Muslim law relating to the rights of property. The Hindu and Islamic concepts of rights to property could not and need not have conformed to the English point of view. Thomason has himself admitted that the British people had not the 'leisure'—nor the inclination, we suppose—to consider the old institutions of a country, presumably in-

43. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 140.

habited by a 'barbaric' and 'less civilized' people and whatever policies they formulated, were invariably with a view to improving 'our' state of affairs—and not theirs. Thomason, however, was fundamentally correct in understanding the motives of the designing parties. Keeping, therefore, the abovementioned anomalies in his mind and also the lapses of the previous settlements, Thomason tried to devote his thoughts by the establishment of property in land, recognition of the proprietary rights of the people in their holdings, rights of occupancy of the land and duties of Revenue Officers. With this end in view, he compiled a set of 'Directions of Settlement Officers' which was a major contribution to the land revenue administration since it was first of its kind, formulated in India during the British period.⁴⁴

In the preface to his "Directions of Settlement Officers" Thomason refers to the Regulations and Acts of Government in its legislative capacity and the orders issued in its executive capacity, to the rules and instructions of the Sadar Court, Board of Revenue, the Accountant and the Civil Auditor. He then says: "The object of the present work is to collect together, from these different sources, all that bears on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces, to arrange it methodically and to place it authoritatively before the officers employed in the department, with such additional remarks and directions, as may suffice to explain the mutual relation and dependence of the several parts of the system."⁴⁵

After enumerating the four printed circulars of the Sadar Board of Revenue, he adds :

"These orders were clear and succinct, and were found to be of the greatest benefit in facilitating the transaction of public business. They were, however, in their nature, incomplete, for they did not treat sympathetically the subjects to which they had reference, but were only a digest, under convenient heads, of orders which had from time to time been issued to meet exigencies as they arose. In process of time, also, some of the rules were abrogated or modified. When, therefore, a new edition of these Circular Orders was required, it was evident that extensive additions and modifications would be necessary to adopt them to the existing state of things and it was ultimately determined to reconstruct the whole in the present form

44. Home Public Proceedings No. 31 of January 17, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings Nos. 21/22 of 21st September, 1847.

45. Directions to Revenue Officers, Preface, p. 4.

embodying in the work such of the orders as remained in force, or throwing them into the appendices."⁴⁶

In fact, the publication, consisting originally of three parts, commenced in 1844 and the whole of it was completed in 1848. Soon after, these three parts were compiled into two, published under the title: "Directions to Settlement Officers" and "Directions to Collectors."⁴⁷ In 1850, both of these were republished together entitled "Directions to Revenue Officers" with an exhaustive introduction, to which Thomason appended his own name. Thus with the help of this work, he tried to convey in an authoritative manner the views and instructions of the Government regarding the principles and procedure of the land revenue settlement. It consists of 195 paragraphs and they all give very detailed information about the rules to be observed in matters of settlements by the officers concerned and the Collectors. They differ chiefly from those of the Sadar Board in giving a more elaborate and philosophical definition of the soil, and more numerous directions for their ascertainment and record. Thomason in his "Directions" tried to be very particular about the proper revision of old records which had often been erroneous and imperfect. He, therefore, stressed on the compilation of new and correct records by revenue officers. He illustrated his point with a very lucid example, explaining the position of a new in-charge of a particular district. Such an officer, he said, although he were an intelligent one, would naturally be puzzled when he met the discrepancies, imperfections, errors and all sorts of possible defects in the existing settlement records upon which he had to base himself for his actions in any matter whatsoever. In spite of his full acquaintance with the system of registration, as well as his conviction of its importance and the practicability of its proper maintenance, he could, indeed, do no good until he determined to apply himself in all earnestness to the rectification of all grave mistakes. The necessity of such a compendium for the smooth working of all settlement problems has been stressed by Thomason in the following words :

"It is the design of the present treatise to aid him (the new officer) in such an undertaking, and to show that it is not difficult at any time to make a fresh commencement, and to attain that degree of accuracy which it was designed to ensure at the time of Settle-

46. Ibid., loc. cit.

47. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 92 of October 8, 1850.

ment.”⁴⁸ Thomason then proceeds to narrate in what way and to what extent moves might be taken to do justice to the complicated aspects of revenue administration :

“He (the new in-charge) will find the necessary powers conferred upon him by resolution of the Government, dated September 12, 1848, which is given in the Appendix No. XXV. In this resolution are defined the limits within which the powers are to be exercised, and the precautions to be observed in the conduct of the investigations. In order to obtain the full support of his superiors in the Revenue Department, it will be necessary for him to show that he is aware of the nature and extent of the work that is before him, and of the method in which it should be performed.

“His first efforts should be directed to the instruction of his *Sadar Omlah*, and of both the *pergunnah* and village officers, in the system of record and registration prescribed by the Government. Great facilities have been lately afforded for the instruction of all classes of people in the peculiarities of the system, by publishing treatises on the subject in the vernacular languages, and by the series of elementary school-books in Urdu and Hindi which are designed to lead the pupils to this very subject, viz., the comprehension of the *Putwarri's* papers. The revenue system when rightly understood and properly worked, affords the greatest stimulus to the general education of the people. Instead it cannot be expected that the registration of rights will ever become perfect, till the people are sufficiently educated to understand it and to watch over its execution. There is reason, however, to apprehend that with all the means of information that are now available, a considerable time will elapse before it can be taken for granted that even the higher and better paid class of officers, such as *Serishtadars*, *Tahseeldars*, and *Canoongoes*, are sufficiently familiar with the system, to enable them to judge whether the record of a ‘*mouzah*’ has been accurately formed, or to cause its correction where it may be faulty.

“When the Collector is satisfied that the agents, whom he is to employ, possess the requisite degree of knowledge, he will endeavour to ascertain through their means how far the existing records are defective. Lists should be prepared of those *mouzahs* in which it is most necessary to amend, or wholly to recast the record. Some will probably be found in which remeasurement of the lands and the formation of an entirely new *misl* is urgently required.

48. Thomason's *Directors*, No. 246; also see *Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers*, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV.

"Several opportunities will occur when remeasurement and recasting of the whole records is necessary and can be enforced such as the division of an estate or its being held *kham* for a balance. These opportunities should be seized and the remedy applied. There are other cases where disputes of the people, or partial injury to the estate, will render the people willing to remeasure the estate, and recast the papers at their own cost. These are likely to be the cases in which such a process is the most necessary. Every effort should be used to carry it on, so as to be least expensive to the people, and so as to expose them to the least annoyance. Pains should also be taken to explain to the people the benefit they will derive from the measure, and the uses to which it may be put. The field work should be prosecuted as much as possible in the cold weather when the Collector can give it his personal superintendence. If he cannot himself be near to control and supervise, a properly qualified subordinate officer should have the duty entrusted to him."⁴⁹

The language of the 'Directions' was Urdu and English—the former language having been obviously the most convenient form of communication to the Revenue officials and most Indians. This was done, as expressed by Thomason himself in the passage quoted above, with a view to educating not only the officers but also the general mass, in the intricacies of revenue administration, as well as inspiring them right from the school-level to get themselves acquainted exclusively with these clerical matters, viz., dealing with *Patwari's* papers, etc.

A copy of each of these 'Directions' in Urdu was also sent to the Collectors of Moradabad, Delhi, Saharanpur, Aligarh, Meerut, Bareilly, Agra, Farrukhabad, Mynpoorie, Kanpur, Fatehpur, Banda, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Banaras, Ghazipur and Sagar. Six copies of the Urdu translation of the 'Directions' were sent for the Court of Directors and twelve to the Home Department.⁵⁰

Apart from the instructions Thomason gave a number of detailed directions to the Revenue Officers regarding the rectification of record of rights as well. He firmly believed that "an accurate record of rights is necessary for the due performance of the Collector's

49. Thomason's Directions, Nos. 247-248-249; also Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers, 1852-53; Vol. LXXV.

50. Home Public Proceedings No. 31 of January 17, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings Nos. 22, 23 and 24 of July 5, 1850.

functions.⁵¹ The resolution of the Government referred to in the 27th paragraph conferred upon all Collectors and Deputy Collectors in these provinces the power of "completing the record of rights in land, which should have been made at the time of settlement and to correct the existing record, whenever it is found at variance with fact."⁵² In order to carry out this recommendation effectively, Thomason issued a detailed Minute, dated 19th October, 1844.⁵³ One obvious question while dealing with this recommendation together with the stress on the record of rights is that whether Thomason was really serious about the proprietary and tenant rights in somewhat liberal way in his 'Directions.' A thorough analysis of these 'Directions' makes it clear that the two leading points to which Thomason called the attention of the Settlement Officers were those of proprietary right and tenancy right. He considered that the most valuable test of the former was the recognition by the people generally of those who claimed to be proprietors (*Vox-populi*). But in cases where no proprietary right could be found to exist, or to have been exercised at any time, the decision was to rest with the Government.

Explaining this in a Circular Order, dated November 28, 1851, Thomason wrote: "At the formation of the last Settlement, it was a practice, generally observed, to leave parties claiming the proprietary right to make good their claims in the Civil Courts. But this course has not generally been attended with a satisfactory result. From the very nature of the case, proof of proprietary right was defective, and few cared to institute a suit, in which the *onus probandi* would be thrown upon them. In most cases no suit was instituted. In some case, collusive suits between claimants and the farmers have led to decisions which declared a proprietary title, often on very insufficient grounds, and in favour of a party who had no legal right to it. The period of 12 years has now very generally elapsed since the conclusion of the settlement, and the right to sue being barred by the law of limitation, the proprietary right may be said absolutely to vest in the Government.

"But it is not the policy of the Government to retain in its own hands the proprietorship of land. It is preferable where the indications of proprietary right are weak, to recognize them as sufficient;

51. Minute of Thomason, dated 19th October, 1844, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 20, Letter No. 138; p. 138; also Document No. 13, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 57.

52. Thomason's Directions, p. 247.

53. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 136 and 146.

and, where they are absolutely non-existent, to bestow the right on the person best qualified to make a good use of it."⁵⁴

Proprietary Rights For The Tenants

The securing of tenant-right was another cardinal feature of Thomason's policy. He held that cultivating under either peasant-proprietors or under village communities or else under large land-owners should be treated as property of a kind, though of an inferior degree.⁵⁵ The main point that he wanted to urge upon the Collectors was, granting the recognition of a proprietary right in the land, how effect could best be given to property in land. Thomason had also foreseen that as people would begin to realize the value of the proprietary right, disputes too would naturally arise; he, therefore, directed that as far as possible the adjustment should have been made when the Record of Rights was being prepared for the first time. If not effected on that occasion, it was to be undertaken afterwards when the Record came to be revised and rectified. This, he thought, would save recourse to the Civil Courts.

Settling of Revenue Disputes

Delineating the picture of such an informal tribunal, Thornton writes :

"In the mango grove, as the day advances....group after group of villagers arrive....litigants and spectators take their seats on the ground, in orderly ranks; silence is proclaimed and the rural court is opened. As case after case is brought forward, the very demeanour of the parties, and of the crowds around, seems to point out on which side justice lies...No need of lengthened pleadings. A few simple questions bring out the matter of the suit, and the grounds on which it rests. Scores of witnesses are ready on the spot, un-assumed and untutored. No need of the Koran, or Ganges water. The love of truth is strong, even in an Indian breast, when preserved from counteracting influences; still more so then, when the sanction of public opinion assists and protects the rightful cause. In such a court Abraham sat, when arbitrating among his simple-minded herdsmen. In such a court was justice everywhere administered in the childhood of the human race."⁵⁶

54. Thomason's Despatches, Revenue Department No. 345; Document No. 49; Notification No. 4158 of 1851, Vol. II, pp. 202-206.

55. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 146.

56. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XVI, p. 467.

By encouraging these courts, Thomason tried to keep the Governmental interference and helped the people in deciding their disputes themselves in the traditionally typical Indian manner, thus obliging the people to self-management. In case of some complicated civil cases when the matter was brought before the civil court, he took equally great interest. He stressed on the courts that the Collectors of revenue should also be furnished by them with copies and abstracts of all decrees affecting proprietary right or possession of lands paying revenue immediately to Government. In his minute already referred to, Thomason very wisely emphasizes that since an accurate record of rights is but essential for the due performance of the Collector's functions, "it is most important that Collector be apprised of all confirmations or alterations of the record which the Judge may make, in all its bearings, and with all its possible effects. Accuracy in this respect cannot be better ensured than by furnishing him with best and authentic information of such charges. It would be unwise to leave this to the chance representation of a party concerned, when it can be authoritatively furnished by the tribunal which authorise the change.... It is, therefore, right that he should have immediate information not only of the fact of the decree, but also of all its features and all its circumstances."⁵⁷

Due Place To Indians

Another important principle in his 'Directions' is a number of general instructions for the employment and considerate treatment of subordinates and Indian revenue officials. For such officials, Thomason says :

"Every effort should also be used to render the performance of their duties as little as possible burdensome to them. The officer, who keeps them long in attendance at his house, or who requires that they perform their ordinary duties in court in a painful standing position, cannot derive from them that degree of assistance which would otherwise be rendered. He should so dispose his own time and make his official arrangements, as may conduce to their comfort, and make their work light. The practice of frequently imposing fines for trivial offences cannot be too strongly deprecated. It affords an excuse for dishonesty and for that cause often fails to have any effect. Errors of judgment should never be so punished, and cor-

57. Thomason's Minute on furnishing Civil Decrees to Collector, dated 19th October, 1844; vide Document No. 20, Letter No. 138, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 137-138.

rupt or dishonest actions deserve a very different punishment, and cannot be thus either appropriately or beneficially noticed. In cases of neglect or disobedience of orders, the imposition of a fine may be salutary, but it should be moderate in amount—the offence should be undoubted, and generally the first transgression of the kind can more appropriately be noticed by recorded reproof and warning.”⁵⁸ He further remarks: “Great care should be taken to maintain the respectability of the *Tahseeldars*. They should be selected with discrimination, and after inquiry into the goodness of their character as well as their official capacity. They should always be received and treated with consideration and confidentially consulted, as far as conveniently practicable, on all subjects connected with the districts entrusted to their charge. Reproof or censure, when necessary, should be given privately rather than publicly; and as long as they are allowed to retain office, they should be treated with the confidence and respect which is due to their high station. The occasions are very rare in which the imposition of a fine upon a *Tahseeldar* is advisable or even justifiable.”⁵⁹

Thus, Thomason tried to improve the status of the native revenue officials by giving them special and defined duties to discharge. His approach to the proper management of land revenue problems is indeed evident from the above extract. It lies (a) in a sympathetic attitude in general to the Indian officers; (b) in not making them overworked as it destroys the efficiency and quality of work; (c) in condemning the usual practice of imposing fines on them for minor offences; (d) in the imposition of a very salutary or moderate fine even in cases of errors or disobedience, (e) in maintaining the respect due to the *Tahseeldars* who should be taken in confidence; and (f) in warning them, if necessary, but not in public—in other words—without jeopardising their honour. Thomason's express intention when he says that imposing a fine on an officer like the *Tahseeldar* could hardly ever be justified or necessary—rarely, if at all—is that the entire collection of revenue depended largely on him, and it was, therefore, obligatory on the part of the Collectors to keep him well-contented and ignore many of his faults designedly. In the words of Oswell, “Thomason improved the status of the hereditary native officials such as the village accountant and the district notary, or as they are styled in Indian parlance, the *Patwari* and the *Kanungo*. . . . It was the duty of the *Patwari* to pre-

58. Thomason's *Directions*, pp. 187-189.

59. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

pare the records of land revenue and that of the **Kanungo** to act as their custodian.”⁶⁰ He also pointedly indicated in his ‘Directions’ that the European officers, after having instructed themselves, should train and guide their Indian subordinates, and then the masses in general.⁶¹

Other Revenue Measures

Thomason laid down some more valuable rules giving directions for the preparation of district maps showing village boundaries; punctual submission of accounts by the Collectors and also regular realization of the revenue. He issued separate despatches exclusively for the preparation of district maps and submission of accounts by Collectors.⁶²

Regarding the cultivator's right to his holdings, Thomason believed that a cultivator who had been cultivating a certain field and had agreed to pay a fixed revenue, could not be ejected from his holdings as long as he continued to pay the stipulated sum of money; and in case he was unable to pay it, he should be given a chance before his land was seized. Stressing on this issue in his ‘Directions,’ he says: “Cultivators at fixed rates have a right to hold certain fields and cannot be ejected from them so long as they pay those rates. If they fail to pay the rent legally demanded, the proprietor must sue them summarily for arrears, and on obtaining a decree in his favour and failing after it to collect his dues, he may apply to the Collector to eject them and to give him possession of the land.”⁶³ By framing this rule, Thomason tried to save the cultivators from the power of the **Talukdars** and **zamindars** who used to oust the tenants at will. He further gave the tenants the right to sublet his land. His despatch No. 54 bears the following note:

“He (the tenant) has a right of occupancy so long as he pays according to the **Pergunnah** rate for the land in his occupation. If from any cause, he does not cultivate the land himself, he is at liberty . . . to provide for its cultivation by others. He continues to be responsible to the **Malgoozar** for the rent of his land, and, so long as he pays it, the **Malgoozar** cannot interfere with him. If he sub-

60. Oswell, G. G., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 186.

61. Thomason's Directions, Nos. 248-249.

62. For details vide Appendix ‘D’ and ‘E’; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 9/10 of September 5, 1843.

63. Thomason's Directions, No. 128; also Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV.

lets to a great advantage, presumption exists that the rent he pays is below the Purgunnah usage, and the Malgoozar may sue for readjustment and increase of rent; but he cannot summarily set aside Mouroosee Ryot, and collect direct from the under-tenant. That would virtually be to oust the Mouroosee Ryot, contrary to the conditions of his tenure, which are continued cultivation and punctual payment of the equitable rent."⁶⁴

Relations with Talukdars

It is necessary to study and analyse here the position of Talukdars under Thomason's regime. In their original status, the Talukdars had been simply contractors for the collection of revenue from the mass of the peasant proprietors. The system had been gradually abused just as it had been in Bengal, where the peasant-proprietors had been elbowed out in course of time of their proprietary rights. Thus the Talukdars had turned out to be superior proprietors, and the land tax in their hands had become rents which they collected as due to themselves, paying the Government demand out of it and retaining the remainder in their hands. The original proprietor thus came to be either inferior proprietors, or simply tenants with occupancy rights, Thomason's decision was that existing facts should be recognised where the Talukdars had securely established themselves as landlords: but where doubts existed, the original proprietors were to be supported, and in such a case, the settlement was to be made with them. The original proprietors were to pay the land-tax direct to the Government, while the Talukdars concerned were to be allowed a certain percentage of the land revenue after the defrayal of all their charges.⁶⁵ This decision cost Thomason a considerable amount of anxiety, for, while the Talukdars could not complain of their financial interests having suffered, they had felt that their social status had been weakened.⁶⁶ With this policy many Talukdars and the

64. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 1, of April 13, 1849; also Thomason's Minutes dated the 17th January, 1844, and the 24th October, 1851; also Thomason's Despatches, Document No. 48, Revenue Department No. 311, Vol. II, pp. 199-202, also Document No. 54, Letter No. 3580 of 1851, dated the 6th October, 1851, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 216.

65. For details, vide Thomason's Minutes dated the 17th January, 1844, and the 24th October, 1851, also Thomason's Despatches, Document No. 48, Revenue Department No. 311, Vol. II, pp. 199-202; and Muir, W., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

66. Thomason writes about the financial interests of the Talukdars thus: "The Talookdars never have advanced nor can they advance."
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hereditary landlords in the provinces were deprived of their positions and gains, and their feelings of discontentment soon found expression in the Revolt of 1857. In fact, looking from an imperialistic angle, Thomason had failed to recognize the value of the territorial aristocracy as a social force which helped in further decaying the feudal relations, a process that had already started in 1833. From the point of view of Indian national interests, Thomason became, undesignedly though, the precursor of the great Indian patriots who later completely abolished the **zamindaris** and **taluedaris**, in the interest of the peasants' economic well-being.

Collection of Land Revenue—The Mahalwari System

A paragraph in Thomason's 'Directions' dealing with the various sharers of the village communities reads: "When there are many coparceners (as in village communities), it is usual to select one or more of their members and to arrange that the others should pay their revenue through them to the Government. All the coparceners are **Malguzars** (revenue payers) or **Pattidars** (holders of land in severalty), but the persons admitted to the engagement are the **Sadr Malguzars** (revenue payers to the State directly) and are commonly called **Lambardars**."⁶⁷

Thus it was through the **Lambardars** that the revenue was to

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vance, a legal claim to more than 10 per cent on the Government demand. But if the highest authority in the State thinks fit to alienate in their favour $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the Government Revenue for the remainder of the settlement, or in perpetuity, it can of course be done. I can see no obligation to such an act of liberality nor advantage in it. I have shown that the assumption of $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as an allowance to the Talookdar for his life-time, in the first instance was a mere accident, or, if I may use the term, a blunder; for it was originally fixed at that amount in order to support him in a position of much cost and risk, as the responsible Collector from the **Biswahdars**, and not to maintain him in a mere sinecure as the pensioner of the Government," vide Thomason's Minute, dated 24th October, 1851, Thomason's Despatches, Document No. 48, Revenue Department No. 311, Vol. II, p. 201; for further details see Paras 20 and 22 of the letter to the Sadar Board of Revenue, dated 17th January, 1844; and Paras 19 and 22 of the letter to the Governor-General, dated January 31, 1844, cited in Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 201.

67. Thomason's 'Directions' No. 154; also Nos. 86 and 96; and Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV.

be collected from the village communities. Under this system, termed as 'joint responsibility' by Thomason, if any sharer failed to pay his quota of the revenue to the Lambardar, the community had to pay, and take over, or make other arrangements for his share. It was for the community to determine by agreement the shares, interests and the quotas of its members in the general burden. The Government demand was upon the community, and the liability was 'Joint.' The scheme was criticised as compulsory joint-stockeries. Even the Board of Revenue made some representation against it to the provincial government in 1848, but Thomason steadfastly adhered to this and in September, 1848, explaining the advantages of the plan, he said :

"Unless the joint responsibility be merely nominal, it must ordinarily be maintained by all former Governments. It is one, the justice of which the people never dispute, and it is one of which distinguishing traces have been left in many of the customs which prevail in the village communities.. It greatly promotes self-government and renders unnecessary that constant interference with the affairs of individual cultivators on the part of the Government officers which must otherwise exist—it saves them from much expense which would otherwise be effected. The efforts of the prosperous and industrious members of a community will often be directed to stimulate the idle, to assist the unfortunate and to give additional value to the labours of their thirty brethren. Property being minutely divided, and each proprietor clinging with the greatest tenacity to his patrimony, it would be difficult to devise a civil institution better calculated to add to the happiness and prosperity of the people."⁶⁸

This was a wise step on the part of Thomason as it helped in preventing the land of any among the brethren being sold to a stranger for default in payment of the land revenue. The cases of the sale of land for default of such payment also started diminishing steadily. J.W. Kaye also attests this fact that in the course of six years, i.e., from 1842-43 to 1847-48, the amount of property sold due to the non-payment of land revenue had decreased from Rs. 2,69,686 to Rs. 40,616, i.e., by more than five-sixths.⁶⁹

Thomason always stressed on the practice of joint responsibility and in a separate despatch he wrote "G.F. Edmonstone, Register

68. Minute on the Joint Responsibility of the Coparceners in Patidaree Estates, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 448.

69. Kaye, J.W., Administration of the East India Company, p. 262.

(Registrar) of the **Sadar Diwani Adalat**, the mode of bringing suits in, in claims for landed property in coparcenary estates. The following was the draft of rules for bringing suits in coparcenary **Mehals** :

- "I. Every plaint regarding the right to land in a coparcenary **Mehal** should include a specification of the nature of the tenure on which the land sued for is held, viz., whether the profits from the land are distributed according to ancestral right, or according to local custom, and whether the lands are held in common or divided, i.e., are zamindaree, imperfect **Putteedaree** or **Putteedar**
- "II. In a **Mehal** where the profits are distributed according to ancestral rights, and the suit is brought for a specified fractional share, the plaint should mention those of the coparceners from whom the share is claimed where the whole is in common, or the share of a certain portion where that portion is divided off. The decision should specify the awarded share of the whole common land, or of the separated portion of the land held in severalty, which is decreed, and should state whether the share is to be held in common or divided off; and if the latter whether it is to remain liable to the joint responsibility or to be formed into a separate **Mehal**.
- "III. In a **Mehal** where the profits are distinguished according to local custom, if the suit is brought for certain lands or rights according to that custom, the plaint should state the persons or their recorded representatives from whom the land or right is claimed, and should explain the nature of the custom, and the mode in which the plaintiff claims to exercise his right in the **Mehal**, whether by possession of certain specified lands unjustly kept from him, or by modification of a rate or cess unjustly laid upon him. In this case the lands claimed should be indicated by the numbers of the field in the **Shujrah** or field maps and the statement should be supported by copies from the settlement record, showing the ownership of the fields, and the nature of the custom under which they are held.
- "IV. In a **Mehal** where the profits are distributed according to local custom, if the suit is brought for possession of a share according to ancestral right, the plaint should include the whole coparcenary community through their recorded representatives; or, if the community be divided into entirely separate **Thokes** or

Puttees, it should include all the members of that **Thoke** or **Puttee** against which the suit is brought. The plaint should state the nature, origin, and extent of the existing local custom, and the grounds upon which it is sought to be set aside, as also the difference between the interest (if any) possessed by the plaintiff and that which he claims. Care must be taken that all members of the community, or of the separate **Thoke** or **Puttee**, are warned of the suit, and heard in support of any objection that may have to urge in bar of the claimed abrogation of the local custom. The decision should state whether the local custom is entirely set aside or only as regards the right of the individual claimant, and in either case how the awarded rights are in future to be possessed and exercised."⁷⁰

Thus the settlement under Thomason in the North-Western Provinces came to be known as **Mahalwar** Settlement, as the basis of assessment was the produce of a **Mahal** or estate. All the proprietors of a **Mahal** were, severally and jointly, responsible in their persons and property for the sum assessed by the Government on the **Mahal**. If the number of proprietors were numerous, a few were selected representatives of the whole and made responsible for the management of the **Mahal** and payment of the revenue.⁷¹

Another paragraph of Thomason's 'Directions' is also equally important, which concerns like fixing of Government demand on the lands. It reads, "It is desirable that the Government should not demand more than two-thirds of what may be expected to be the nett produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement, leaving to the proprietor one-third as his profits, and to cover expenses of collection. By nett produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield, after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour; and this, in an estate held entirely by cultivating proprietors, will be the profit on their **Sir** cultivation, but in an estate held by a non-cultivating proprietor, and leased out to cultivators or **Asamees** paying at a known rate, would be the gross rental."⁷²

70. Thornton's letter to G. F. Edmonstone, dated 12th July, 1845, vide Document No. 3, Copy No. 3791 of 1845 and No. 2942 of 1845, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 10-11.

71. Thomason's 'Directions' No. 154; also Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV.

72. The undertenants had to deal with the landlords and their capacity to guard their own interests depended upon their bargaining powers with the proprietors of the land. Thomason's 'Directions,' No. 52; also Commons Report, East India, Accounts and Papers, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV.

In pursuance of the above Rule, Thomason fixed two-thirds or 66 per cent of the rental as the maximum limit. Considering the past circumstances and fixations, it was relatively a humane rule, as this was certainly a lower demand, because earlier in 1822 and 1833, the British Government had made an exorbitant demand of 83 per cent and 75 per cent respectively.⁷³ But, in fact, even 66 per cent proved to be too heavy and crushing a demand. In the words of R. Dutt, "...A tax of 66 per cent claimed by the State, was excessive and impracticable. Thomason's Rule 52 had proved oppressive and had prevented land from becoming valuable property to its owners and tillers."⁷⁴ Certain revenue records also reveal the hard-pressed and deplorable condition of both the landlords and the proprietary cultivators of the provinces even on a 66 per cent demand. In a number of cases, it was realized that still further decrease in demand was essential for easy and full collection of land revenue. For instance, in the Mainpuri district, "the aggregate demand of revenue in 1846-47 was less than that of 1815-46 by Rs. 23,945, but the collections were larger by Rs. 41,763."⁷⁵ Similarly, in the Farrukhabad district which was usually notorious for arrears of revenue, the report says, "when sanction was obtained for a decreased land revenue demands for the Farrukhabad district in 1846-47, the state of collections improved due to the lightness of assessment."⁷⁶ As a matter of fact, the main reason why Thomason had slightly lowered the revenue demand (although that too was sufficiently high) was that the cultivators were not at all in a position to meet the high demand made in accordance with Bird's Settlement, resulting in large arrears of revenue in most of the districts of Agra and Benares Divisions.⁷⁷ In Mathura, Agra, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Benares, Ghazipur, Mirzapur and Jaunpur districts conditions were extremely bad. The cultivators there were not at all prepared to enter into any engagement with the Government to cultivate the land against such high and excessive revenue assessments and demands.⁷⁸

73. Dutt, R., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 34.

74. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 32.

75. Revenue Administration Report for 1846-47, vide Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 87 of August 15, 1848.

76. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 87 of August 15, 1848.

77. North-Western Provinces Government to the Board of Revenue, No. 2846, dated December 31, 1842, vide Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 34 of March 24, 1843.

78. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 2846 of December 31, 1842; also Agra Commissioner to Board of Revenue No. 260 of 1843; vide Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 31 of September 20, 1844.

An Estimate

Thus the two serious defects of the Thomasonian settlement were: (1) the fixing of the land-tax for an entire fiscal area like a *pargana* was more or less guess work; and (2) the land-tax amounting to two-thirds of the nett produce was excessive and proved to be a crushing burden on the landlords and cultivators. This painful truth soon became evident to the Government itself and new rules were issued in 1855, reducing the land-tax to 50 per cent instead of 66 per cent.⁷⁹ They formed part of the new rules which were issued in connection with the resettlement of the Saharanpur district and are, therefore, generally known as 'Saharanpur Rules.' The revised rules of 1855 were "designed to assist the Collector in points which had been omitted from or not sufficiently detailed in the Directions to Settlement Officers, or on which different rules from those laid down in that treatise had been subsequently issued by Government."⁸⁰ The 50 per cent basis was gradually adopted in land settlement in other parts of India as well.⁸¹

79. The Rule was: "The assets of an estate can seldom be minutely ascertained, but more certain information as to the average nett assets can be obtained now than was formerly the case. This may lead to overassessment and there is little doubt that two-thirds, or 66 per cent is larger proportion of the real average assets than can ordinarily be paid by proprietors, or communities, in a long course of years. For this reason the Government had determined so far to modify the rule laid down in Paragraph 52 of the Directions to Settlement Officers as to limit the demand of the estate to 50 per cent of the average nett assets. By this it is not meant that the *Jumma* (assessment) of each estate is to be fixed at one-half of the nett average assets, but that in taking these assets with other data into consideration, the Collector will bear in mind that about one-half, and not two-thirds as heretofore, of the well-ascertained nett assets should be the Government demand. The Collector should deserve the cautions given in paragraphs 17 to 51 of the treatise quoted and not waste time in minute and probably fruitless attempts to ascertain exactly the average nett assets of the estates under settlement." vide Rule No. XXXVI, vide Saharanpur Revenue Rules of 1855; also Colvin, A., John Russell Colvin, pp. 171-172, and Moreland, Revenue Administration of the U.P., p. 42

80. Dutt, R., op. cit., p. 33.

81. It was extended to the Central Provinces of India and to Oudh and the Punjab, after the annexation of those provinces. It was also formulated by the Secretary of State for India in his despatch of 1864, for provinces like Madras and Bombay where the revenue was generally paid by the cultivators direct and now through intervening landlords. vide Dutt, R., op. cit., p. 33.

It appears from revenue statements that the economic condition of the peasantry during Thomason's regime was better than it was during the regime of Bird. At the beginning of the decade commencing from 1838-39 the land revenue arrears amounted to Rs. 92 lakhs.⁸² The arrears at the end of the decade, i.e., in 1847-48, had dwindled down to Rs. 4 lakhs.⁸³ During the period the total collections increased from Rs. 3,63,02,151 to Rs. 4,24,85,823.⁸⁴ According to the Commissioner of Agra in his Revenue Administration Report for 1845-46, "collections are increasing every year since 1843....The revenue is now collected with greater ease."⁸⁵

It has to be admitted that the exhaustive 'Directions' prepared by Thomason were the first complete land revenue code compiled in India during the British period. Intended to improve the contemporary revenue administrative machinery, it not only laid down the principles and procedures on which the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces was conducted, but it was also followed throughout the northern India,—the following three rules were introduced by John Stuart Mill for land revenue systems :

"First. All the inhabited part of the country is divided into portions with fixed boundaries, called **Mahals** or estates. On each **Mahal** a sum is assessed for the term of twenty or thirty years, calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit over and above the net produce of the land; and for the punctual payment of that sum, the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the Government.

"Secondly. It is determined who are the person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the **Mahal** are taken.

"Thirdly. All the proprietors of a **Mahal** are, severally and jointly,

82. Court of Directors to Governor-General of India, No. 9 of August 13, 1851, vide House of Commons Report, 1852, Vol. X, Appendix XIX, p. 908.

83. For detailed figures, vide *infra*, Appendix, 'G'.

84. Court of Directors to Governor-General of India, No. 9 of August 13, 1851.

85. Commissioner of Agra to the Board of Revenue, dated October 26, 1846, vide Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 137 of October 5, 1847.

responsible in their persons and property for the payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the Mahal. When there are more proprietors than one it is determined according to what rule they shall share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. If the proprietors are numerous, engagements are only taken from a few of the body, who, on their own parts and as representatives of the rest, undertake to manage the Mahal, and to pay the sum assessed upon it."⁸⁶

Thomason had also begun preparing a 'Revenue Code' during the last years of his life, which, however, was not completed due to his sudden death. The unfinished draft of his 'Revenue Code' was published on the 4th April, 1857.⁸⁷ He could complete only twenty chapters out of twenty-nine and the real motive of this sketch of 'Revenue Code' as the Prefatory Note of the incomplete published draft reveals, was "to lay before the Legislative Council, for the purpose of consolidating in one act the law for the administration of Revenue."⁸⁸

Apart from these 'Directions' and the 'Revenue Code', some of his other plans, a few of which, however, could not materialise, are equally important in the field of revenue administration. They are found in his despatches issued from time to time. For example, for the sale of lands, he was of the opinion that it should "be entirely taken out of the hands of the revenue officers, and to be conducted by the Courts themselves."⁸⁹ He had issued a Minute on October 19, 1844, for the same purpose and "made a tour through a considerable part of these Provinces, and had an opportunity of personally conferring with several Judges and Collectors, and of examining cases in their Courts and offices."⁹⁰ Similarly, his proposal

86. Thomason's Directions; also Dutt, R., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 66-67.

87. Vide Appendix 'I'; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 335-336; also Commons Report, Accounts and Papers, Public Works, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV, gives an account of both these works of Thomason.

88. Prefatory Note to the Draft of Revenue Code Thomason, dated the 4th April, 1857. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 335-336.

89. Letter from Thornton to the Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department, Fort William, dated the 24th April, 1845, Document No. 1730, Letter No. 23, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 162.

90. Ibid., loc. cit.

for a new Revenue year is also worth mentioning. The proposal was: "It may be found advantageous to establish as the agricultural and Revenue year in these provinces, one which shall commence in June, be divided according to the Roman Calendar, and bear the number of the *Fusly* year, which would commence on the 1st of *Assun* following. The instalments of Revenue may then be fixed in each district on the dates which may be found most convenient; and if the early *rubbee* instalments should be fixed before May 1st, the payments may be held in deposit, and not brought to account till May 1st, so that the official year shall always represent the same financial operations that it now does."⁹¹

Thomason wanted this proposal to be circulated by the Board for general consideration, both in English and Urdu, so as to enable them to come to a determination of the question. But this could not give any results during the life time of Thomason since it was proposed during his last days.

An analytical study of the facts already adumbrated will prove conclusively that Thomason's tenure of office was one of the most eventful periods in the revenue annals of India. That the measures adopted and implemented during his Lieutenant-Governorship had had far-reaching significance in the cataclysmic events that soon followed. With the completion of Bird's plan by modifying it with his *Mahalwari* system, he tried to establish somewhat better and comparatively balanced procedure with fewer cracks. It had freed the Government of its tremendous and perpetual botheration of keeping itself engaged with the land problem and assured it of a fixed, although comparatively less, annual revenue. In making this settlement, the evils of the summary settlements were avoided. He showed keen solicitude for the welfare of the peasantry whose claims he tried to champion against those of the landed aristocracy who were being favoured by several British administrators. He made popular the theory of the peasant proprietorship in the North-Western Provinces which, in turn, influenced the First Punjab Settlement Act X of 1859, secured fixity of tenure and fair rent to tenants enjoying occupancy rights.⁹² Thomason adopted this attitude because he believed that a prosperous and contented peasantry provided a more

91. Letter from W. Muir to G.J. Christian, dated 3rd June, 1852, Document No. 2172 of 1853, letter No. 73, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 291.

92. Regarding the success of Thomason's revenue administration in the North-Western Provinces and that of the Thomasonian

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enduring foundation of the British power than landed aristocracy.

Viewed in the context of the situations that were obtaining at that time, the steps taken by Thomason constituted astute measures intended to consolidate British rule in India, but as years rolled by and conditions swiftly changed, the same measures were found to contain seeds of disintegration also. It has been stated above that he espoused the cause of the peasantry, but his concern for the well-being of the cultivator alienated and even prejudiced the landed aristocracy. When the country was up in arms against the alien power, these disgruntled masters of the rural folk joined the insurgent forces and it was perhaps because of their powerful alliance that a blow was delivered which shook the foundations of the British empire in 1857.

Thomason's land revenue settlement, in the North-Western Provinces, aimed at eliminating the middlemen by establishing direct contact with the peasants.⁹³ As a result, many Talukdars, the hereditary landlords (and tax-collectors for the Government) were deprived of their positions and gains.⁹⁴ Many holders of rent-free tenures were dispossessed by the use of *quo warranto*—requiring the holders of such lands to produce the title-deeds by which they held that land. Large estates were confiscated and sold by public auction to the highest bidder. Thus all those big landlords who suffered by this were naturally to opt for Revolt in 1857. Moreover, the ruthless manner in which the Thomasonian system was enforced was fully illustrated by the resumption of revenue collection from

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school in Punjab, while writing a Minute at the time of the proposed amalgamation of Sindh with the Punjab, J.P. Grant observed, "If Scinde is united to the Punjab, it will fall under the revenue system which has converted the North-Western Provinces into a Garden and is now doing the same thing in the Punjab," vide Series I, Vol. II, Lawrence Papers, India Office, EUR. MSS. E. 220; also Parliamentary Papers relating to the Passing of Act of 1859, Vol. I; also Jagdish Raj, *The Mutiny and the British Land Policy in North India 1856-86*, p. 13

93. Gibbon, *The Lawrences of the Panjab*, p. 236 fn.

94. The case of Rao Tula Ram, a landlord of Rewari, district Gurgaon, was one of the important cases of Thomason's regime. Tula Ram proved to be a victim of the settlement in the N.W.P. and ultimately joined the Revolt of 1857, vide Board of Revenue Proceedings, September 24, 1850, No. 268 of 1850, p. 29; also Sadar Board of Revenue Proceedings, N.W.P., April 4, 1851, No. 1176 of 1851, p. 27; also Sadar Board of Revenue Proceedings, N.W.P., May 13, 1851, No. 57 of 1851, pp. 495-496; also for details see Yadav, K.C., *Rao Tula Ram—A Hero of 1857*,

the free villages granted for the temple of Lakshmi in Jhansi.⁹⁵

It is clear that the Mahalwari system of revenue collection evolved by Thomason was not entirely free from defects. It was not based on the consideration of the welfare of all the parties. It provided little check on overassessment of land which caused hardship to adversely affected proprietors who consequently adopted unquestionable devices to enhance their income. The burden of overassessment in these cases, therefore, had to be borne by the tenantry as its interests were not safeguarded by any tenancy legislation. In brief, some of the grim consequences of the Thomasonian system were the transfer of proprietary rights, fragmentation of holdings, impoverishment of the tenantry, rural indebtedness, rising influence of moneylending families, reduction in agricultural output and increased frequency of famines, although as compared to Bengal, the poignancy of these evils was less acute in the North-Western Provinces.

It was under the administration of Lord Northbrook that the passing of the Land Revenue Act (Act XIX of 1873) brought some relief. It simplified the law by repealing or modifying over fifty preceding Regulations and Acts; and the revised settlement was concluded under the provisions of this new Act. The older methods of survey were replaced by a cadastral survey;⁹⁶ the rental of each estate was revised and corrected by settlement officers after local inquiry; and between 45 and 55 per cent of the rental thus fixed was demanded as the Government land revenue.⁹⁷

The earlier method of assessment followed by Bird and Thomason was to proceed from aggregate to detail; the revenue of a fiscal circle was first fixed. It was then spread over the villages situated within the circle. The method introduced by Northbrook through rules framed under Act XIX of 1873, proceeded from detail to aggregate; the rental of each estate was corrected and fixed by inquiry; and the Government Revenue, assessed on the revised rental of estates within a fiscal circle, was the revenue of that circle.⁹⁸

95. The Lakshmi temple had long been supported by the native rulers of the country out of two villages which had been set apart for its support. It was ordered that these villages should be resumed. It was strongly objected to by the Rani, but to no purpose. vide Kaye, J.N., *Sepoy War in India*, Vol. III, pp. 360-361; also Rahim, M.A., *Lord Dalhousie's Administration of the Conquered and Annexed States*, p. 215.

96. Strachey, J., *op. cit.*, p. 379.

97. Dutt, R., *op. cit.*, p. 194.

98. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER IV

A Twilight on Education and Learning

Prior to Thomason

The Company's Charter had been renewed in 1833 for another twenty years. As time for renewal approached, the authorities at home and in India began to show all of a sudden their concern about education and 'moral progress of Indians committed to their charge.'¹ Their interest in this sphere was, however, not altruistic; it was an attempt at presenting a bright picture of their administration to a not very favourable House of Commons. The progress of education since the days of Macaulay had been little and expenditure on it negligible. Vernacular education had ceased to be of any concern to the Government ever since Macaulay launched his venomous tirade against it.² Though English education was acquiring increasing momentum among the Hindus of Bengal yet its progress was very slow in inland provinces where Government servants were practically European residents.³ In the North-Western Provinces, Persian was very popular and the study of English was still in its infant stage.⁴ This disparity had thus made it very difficult for the General Committee of Public Instruction to follow a uniform educational policy for the whole of the Company's domain in northern India.⁵

1. Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1837, pp. 61-62.

2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1852, pp. 66-67.

3. Duncan Forbes, The Cambridge Journal, October, 1951, pp. 23-24.

4. Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1837, pp. 61-62.

5. Commons Report, Public, 1832-33, Vol. I, Mackenzie on March 2, 1832, Question No. 706; also Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1837, pp. 61-62.

Although the North-Western Provinces were made a separate administrative unit in 1836, the control of its educational institutions was not transferred to the local Government till 1842. It was on April 29, 1843, that the province got the right of complete control over all educational institutions and on May 3, 1843, since no Council of Education was set up in the province, the entire control of educational policy was entrusted to the Lieutenant-Governor who used to look after the educational administration.⁶ The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces was only formally responsible to the Central Council of Education which was established after the abolition of the General Committee of Public Instruction.⁷ Thus like other subjects, education too became a provincial subject.

It was noticeable right from the time of Lieutenant-Governor Clerk that the people of the North-Western Provinces were not so much interested in English education as they were in Persian, which was just the opposite of the practice prevailing in the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Presidencies. In his "Sections," reporting on the progress of education in the North-Western Provinces, Richey enumerated a variety of causes on account of which the English language did not receive as much encouragement in the provinces as it did in the Presidencies. He observed that excepting functionaries of Government, there were very few European residents in the North-Western Provinces. There was no wealthy body of English merchants transacting their business through the English language and according to English methods. Nor was there any Supreme Court administering justice in English. There was no English Bar or Attorneys, no European sea-borne commerce and no English cellars. Even in the public services the posts which required knowledge of the English language for discharging routine official duties were few and far between.⁸

6. Commons Report from Committee, 1852-53, Vol. XIX, H.J. Halliday on July 25, 1853, Question No. 8775; also Home, Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 3 of 1843, Vol. 502, No. 3 of 1844; Vol. 502, No. 2 of 1847; Vol. 502, No. 4 of 1848; also General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1843-44, Appendix I, pp. xci-xcii.

7. The General Committee of Public Instruction was dissolved at the end of 1841 and the Council of Education was constituted on January 10, 1842. vide Richey, Selections from Educational Records, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

8. Richey, op. cit., p. 228.

In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Mackenzie also emphasized the preponderance of Persian in the country in general. He specifically mentioned in his testimony that in India and the North-Western Provinces, an overwhelming majority of people, irrespective of their caste and religion, used the Persian language in their social intercourse. People having any pretence to education understood Persian and were remarkably proficient in its subtleties.⁹

Under these conditions which were more favourable for the growth of oriental and vernacular languages rather than for the growth of the English language, the Government of the North-Western Provinces decided to introduce education through the vernacular medium instead of a foreign tongue, because it was not possible in any other way "to produce any perceptible impression on the general mind of the people of this part of the country."¹⁰ Sir George Clerk, the immediate predecessor of Thomason, was quick to appreciate the local situation. In 1843 he wrote: "Every town in the Provinces has its little schools, in every *pergunnah* there are two or more schools, even in many villages is the rude school master to be found."¹¹ His long personal intercourse with all classes of Indians led him to believe "that the people do desire to learn and that there is no backwardness in any class or in any sect to acquiring learning, or to have their children taught."¹² And yet, it was the experience of the British officials in the North-Western Provinces that the colleges or schools established by Government have neither their (i.e., the people's) countenance nor support;¹³ to these institutions they themselves took slightest interest in their existence, yet do they seek through other means, to give to their children the best education they can afford."¹⁴ Clerk attributed this 'popular apathy' to the fact that the modern educational institutions created by British officials were not in keeping with the needs and sentiments of the people. He wrote that "the habits and customs of the influential classes in the North-Western Provinces, cannot be judg-

9. Ibid., loc. cit.

10. Ibid., loc. cit.

11. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., *A History of Education in India*, p. 126.

12. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., op. cit., loc. cit.

13. Most of such colleges were established during the time of Lord Auckland at Agra, Banaras and Delhi. vide Chaube, S.P., *A History of Education in India*, p. 320.

14. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., op. cit., p. 126.

ed by those of the people in Calcutta and the attempt to force an unpractical system of education on the Natives of the Provinces is, ...visionary, and productive of a useless expenditure of the resources of Government."¹⁵ He suggested some improvements. First of all he proposed that a beginning should be made by attempting to improve the indigenous schools in and around Agra.¹⁶ He complained that the higher classes in the province did not patronize institutions for higher English education, nor did they 'take the slightest interest in their existence';¹⁷ the result of their indifference was that Government Colleges and schools were manned by students 'from a lower rank and from the hangers-on of public offices, the inferior shopkeepers, the children of our burkandazes and with individuals with whom the respectable classes would not desire their children to associate.'¹⁸ Clerk was also not satisfied with the way funds were expended on education and proposed that Government schools should act as models for mofussil schools with necessary improvements.¹⁹

Thomason, who succeeded Clerk in the North-Western Provinces as Lieutenant-Governor, agreed with his predecessor's views on education in the provinces. He was convinced on the basis of the inquiries already made that ignorance prevailed amongst the people, and that there were no adequate arrangements for imparting instruction to them.²⁰ The means of learning were scanty and the instruction which was being imparted was of

15. Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 233-235.

16. Clerk's Minute, dated the February 7, 1844. vide Home Public Proceedings. No. 6 of March 2, 1844.

17. *Ibid.*, also Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 233 ff.

18. Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 233 ff.

19. The Provincial Government spent a little less than 2 lakhs of rupees annually on education. vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 11 of August 11, 1845; also Minute of G. R. Clerk dated the February 7, 1844. vide Home Public Proceedings No. 6 of March 2, 1844.

20. According to the enquiries about the condition in the N.-W.P. it was found that only 64,335 (50,026 Hindus and 14,309 Muslims) out of the population of 21,630,167 were in receipt of education, vide Thornton, *Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*, cited in Kaye, J.W., *Administration of East India Company* pp. 611-612; also Dodwell, H.H., and Sethi, R.R., *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. XI, p. 116.

the rudest and least practical character.²¹ The Report of the Magistrates and Collectors revealing the deplorable condition of education further agitated Thomason's mind. They reported that "less than five per cent of the youths who are of an age to attend school obtain any instruction and the instruction which they do receive is of a very imperfect kind."²² Even in some of the most favoured districts like Agra, only 5½ per cent of the children received education.²³ Thornton also sketched a gloomy picture of the condition of education in the North-Western Provinces in the following words: "Out of a population which numbered in 1848, 2,32,00,000 souls and in which were consequently included more than 19,00,000 males of a school-going age, we can trace but 68,200 as in the receipt of any education whatever."²⁴

Thomason's Forward Planning

Such an utterly disappointing state of education set Thomason thinking. Soon he evolved a proper and scientific educational system for the eradication of illiteracy of the masses. His programme of mass education was to be integrated with the existing revenue system under which the annual registration of all landed property was a statutory requirement. Because of the fragmentation of landed holdings, there was only a negligible minority of the people who did not possess any rights of property in the soil. Annual registration of the agricultural holdings was intended to record the proprietary rights of the peasantry. The method was devised to protect as well as to explain these rights to them. It was based on the survey made at the time of Settlement. It was, however, considered necessary that those whose rights the register recorded should be able to consult it and ascertain the nature of the entries made therein. This involved a knowledge of reading, writing and the simple rules of arithmetic vis-a-vis the land measurement.²⁵

21. Elliot to Thornton, No. 50 of February 28, 1851. vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 15 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 13/15 of November 4, 1853; also the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, pp. 511-513.

22. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, pp. 510-511.

23. Thornton's Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency vide Kaye, J.W., Administration of the East India Company, p. 611 n.

24. Ibid., loc. cit.

25. Elliot to Thornton, No. 50 of February 28, 1851. vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 7, 1852; also Home Pub-

The dovetailing of the proposed mass literacy movement of Thomason with the land revenue system was bound to provide a desirable incentive in the right direction. He also felt that in order to impress the Indian masses it would be profitable to impart education through the medium of the mother-tongue.²⁶ Thomason's first-hand knowledge of the official attitude towards education prevailing in Calcutta and his intimate association with educational problems as a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, stood him in good stead in realizing quickly that an educational edifice should be built from below.

Thomason's resolve to adopt, develop and popularise the indigenous system of education was motivated by a number of considerations. He had set his face against the Downward Filtration Theory.²⁷ He was convinced that any programme of mass education could succeed only if it was implemented through the mother-tongue of the masses. Above everything he realised that the successful enforcement of the land revenue settlement which he had in mind greatly depended upon the capacity and will of the people to understand its provision. In other words, it needed mass education.

On the basis of the data collected by him, he drew a comprehensive educational programme keeping the following three considerations in mind:²⁸

- (i) To provide correct guidance to the existing village schools and to distribute suitable books to cater to the needs of the people. To award from time to time prizes and give financial assistance to deserving students and competent teachers.

lic Proceedings, No. 15 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 13/15 of November 4, 1853; also Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 249 ff.

26. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 130; also 'Vernacular Education in Bengal and North-Western Provinces' by D. N. Shukla, published in the *Journal of the Allahabad Historical Society*, Vol. II and III, 1964, u. 72.

27. According to the Downward Filtration Theory "Education is to be filtered to the common people. Drop by drop the education would go to the common public so that at due time it may take the form of a vast stream which remained waaering desert of the society for long-long times and high class of people would be educated and common people gain influence from them." vide Rai, B.C., *History of Indian Education*, p. 138.

28. Chaube, S.P., *op. cit.*, p. 321.

- (ii) To build schools and impose a local education tax in villages where respectable persons could make an endowment of at least five acres of land for the livelihood of the teachers.
- (iii) To establish an Education Department for the organization and progress of education.

Early Foundations of Primary Education

With the help of statistical inquiries Thomason found out that on an average less than five per cent of the children of school-going age got some instruction and that too of a very imperfect kind.²⁹ He also came to the conclusion that the people themselves could not support the educational institutions on account of extreme poverty. It was, therefore, his opinion that to supplement the financial resources of educational institutions was a permanent duty of Government.³⁰ He proposed the establishment of a school in every village of a certain size. An endowment was to be created for meeting the maintenance expenditure. The Government was to make sizable contribution out of the land revenue and the local zamindars were to provide land for the purpose of maintaining the school master.³¹

On scrutiny this system was found in consonance with the customs and feelings of the people. A school master was to be a recognized village servant. He was selected and supported in a manner sanctioned by the usage of the village community.³²

The endowment system had a distinct advantage. Under it though the school master was the servant of the village community yet he enjoyed an independent status. For the payment of his salary he was not dependent on any particular member of the community. Thomason knew very well the rental value of property in his time.

29. Thornton to F. Currie, dated the November 18, 1846, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1089, pp. 329-331; also Home Public Proceedings No. 11 of December 5, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 83 of November 20, 1849; also Home Public Proceedings No. 47 of January 27, 1849.

30. Thornton to F. Currie, dated the November 18, 1846, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1089, p. 329.

31. Ibid., loc. cit.

32. Ibid., loc. cit.

A Jagir of five to ten acres of land could fetch a rental anywhere from twenty to forty rupees per annum. This was, of course, a very meagre sum, but it was a very handsome remuneration for a village servant. The endowment was not desired to constitute the sole sustenance for the school master. He could receive presents, fees in money, and perquisites even if he did not regularly receive fixed payment for imparting instructions to some of his scholars.³³ The statistical returns scrutinised by Thomason revealed that the existing emoluments of the teachers were very low.³⁴ Accordingly he was of the opinion that the creation of an endowment of five acres of land would definitely improve the financial status of the school teachers.³⁵

He was of the view that the endowments under the proposed plan were to be made for many years at a time. But before implementing the plan he recommended the computation of the precise amount which the measure was likely to subtract from the revenue of the State.³⁶

The number of villages in the Regulation Provinces in his time was 79,033. Of these, it appeared, 18,000 contained about 100 houses each. The average *jumma* of land which was proposed to be thus alienated from the rent roll was Rs. 2, so that in case a school was established in every village of the specified size, the probable loss of revenue to the State amounted to Rs. 1,80,000 provided the endowment was of the minimum size of five acres. Proportionately the loss of revenue to the State would be doubled if the size of endowment was to be increased to ten acres. The proportion of these losses to the total realization of land revenue of four crores of rupees was worked out by him to As. 7 and As. 14 per cent respectively. The number of villages containing no fewer than 200 houses was about 5,440 and if endowments were to be created in villages of that size, the maximum contribution of the State was likely to be reduced to a sum ranging from Rs. 54,400 to Rs. 1,08,800.³⁷

The number of boys of school-going age in a village with 100 houses was calculated on an average to be 40. This was not a large number and it was estimated that one man could properly handle the

33. Ibid., pp. 329-330.

34. Ibid., p. 330.

35. Ibid., loc. cit.

36. Ibid., loc. cit.

37. Ibid., pp. 330-331.

class. Apart from other considerations, perhaps this factor weighed the most with the Government because a village of that size was considered to be an ideal unit.³⁸

Although the possible maximum limit of the proposed endowment might have appeared large yet even if the entire endowment were to be demanded, it was not likely to create any serious problem. The rent roll was likely to increase annually by a substantial amount. Besides, the study of complex economic factors operating at that time engendered in Thomason the optimistic belief that any loss sustained by the State on this score would be amply recompensed by the general prosperity of the masses in the long run.³⁹

Thomason also proposed in his scheme that the land given for the purpose of schools would be rent-free.⁴⁰ Whenever the **zamindars** had the majority of respectable inhabitants in **Mouzah** which contained houses, wished to establish a school, in their village and permanently endowed it with a **Jagir** for the school-master containing no less than five acres of land, they were supposed to state their wishes in a written representation to the Collector of the district also specify the lands which they wanted to be set apart as an endowment. On receiving such an application, the Collector was to satisfy himself of the sincerity of the desire on the part of the applicants, and then recommend to the Government the remission of the public demand on the land so appropriated and calculated in the mode specified in para 29 Circular Order of the Sadar Board of Revenue, No. IV.⁴¹ In regard to the nomination of the school-master, it was proposed that it would rest with the **zamindars** and principal residents of the **Mouzah**, and that no person would be appointed school-master unless he fully understood, and had the ability to impart instructions in Ram Saran Das' elementary books both in Urdu and Hindi. The Collector again was supposed to satisfy himself of the extent of those acquirements before he sanctioned the appointment.⁴² The Collector and his Deputy, or Assistant, or any other person specially

38. Ibid., p. 331.

39. Ibid., loc. cit.

40. Home Public Proceedings, No. 11 of December, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 83 of November 20, 1849; also Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 241.

41. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 83 of November 20, 1849; also Thornton to F. Currie, dated the 18th November, 1846, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1089, pp. 332-333.

42. Home Public Proceedings, No. 11 of December, 1846.

appointed by the Government for the purpose by public notification in the Gazette, was empowered to visit those schools and to ascertain that the endowment was faithfully appropriated to the support of the school-master, and that the school-master so appointed continued in the active and efficient discharge of his duties. If they considered the school-masters to have become inefficient or neglectful of their duties, the visitor would call on the **zamindars** and other respectable residents to dispense with them and to nominate other qualified persons. In case the villagers did not accede to their requisition, the visitor with the assurance of the Commissioner was competent to resume the land for the Government, and to levy on the village the full amount of the original assessment.⁴³ Thus in the proposed scheme stress was laid on the initiative to enlist "the persons whom they may select as teachers, and support for that purpose."⁴⁴

The scheme of Thomason was a philanthropic gesture. It was calculated to obliterate the stigma of greed and callousness from the British administration. No one could defend the British Government against the reproach that while it usurped the endowment of former sovereigns, it showed a general apathy towards the betterment of the lot of the common man. Even those humanitarian purposes which were universally acknowledged as laudable were neglected by the administration. Therefore, Thomason aptly believed that the implementation of his scheme was likely to boost up the sagging prestige of his Government.

It may be observed that Thomason was a sagacious administrator. Perhaps it may not be an exaggeration to affirm that no one knew and understood the psychology of the masses more competently than he. Like every wise administrator he wanted to ameliorate the lot of the Indian people. But at the same time he devised a method by which the beneficiaries had also to contribute their own mite. This was a far better scheme because if his educational programme were to be financed exclusively by the Government, the people would not have taken such a measure of interest

43. Thornton to F. Currie, dated the 18th November, 1846, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1089, pp. 332-333.

44. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 108 of August 10, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings No. 3 of June 14, 1845; also Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 237; also letter from the N.W.P. Government to the Governor-General-in-Council, dated April 19, 1848, vide Kaye, J.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 608-609.

as they were likely to do in their being equal partners in working it out. The matching endowment grants which were to be contributed by the public were obviously to make it unconsciously an active partner in the educational plan contemplated by Thomason. He understood the philosophy of education and its deep-rooted implications. An enlightened subject has better social awareness and is more amenable and responsive to the administrative needs. It was for the realization of this goal that Thomason wanted to launch his experiment in mass education. But at the same time he wanted to ensure the co-operation of the public. That is why perhaps he conceived of the education as a joint venture in which the nexus of endowment forged everlasting bonds between the ruler and the ruled.

When this new and well-thought out scheme was brought before the Court of Directors for final approval in November, 1846, they were duly impressed by it, and while they admitted the necessity of giving some powerful impulse to elementary and indigenous education, they rejected the specific recommendation of remunerating the teachers by grants of land (Jagirs) and, therefore, Thomason's original educational plan was referred back to him for revision.⁴⁵ One important point of information as revealed by Thornton's letter to Bushby in this connection is that though the Court of Directors was not satisfied with Thomason's scheme of educational expediency, yet they were "disposed to prefer the grant of a monthly stipend to such school-masters as may be appointed to the large villages, or those, if properly qualified, who may be already employed in them, making them responsible to the local Government through the constituted authorities for the proper discharge of their duties."⁴⁶ But in spite of all this, the Court of Directors had sent back Thomason's educational scheme for revision. The attitude of the Court towards this scheme has been supported by William Muir. He remarks that, "such a system would, indeed, have proved cumbrous and unmanageable; it would probably have tended to perpetuate the drowsiness and errors of the native method, without any effective provision for the prospective introduction of enlightenment and energy; and it could only have been the strong attachment of Thomason to the "Village Communities"

45. Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated the August 25, 1847.

46. Thornton to G.A. Bushby, dated the 18th April, 1848, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 398-399.

of the North-West, that led him to its advocacy."⁴⁷ But this comment of William Muir seems to be ill-balanced since it completely ignores the bright side of it. It cannot be disputed that Thomason's scheme was in conformity with the habits and feelings of the people, and was simple in its operation in so far as it involved no payment from the public treasury and little supervision by the Government. While explaining this scheme of Thomason, Thornton too gives certain potent reasons in favour of making land endowments. He observed: "This system (Jagir system) is most in consonance with the customs and feelings of the people. . . . An endowment in land is preferable to a money payment because it gives greater responsibility of station than a pecuniary stipend. . . . and because it connects the school-master with the community in a way which renders his service more acceptable to them than if he were the paid servant of the Government."⁴⁸

The arguments advanced by Thomason against money payments to village school-masters were also sound :

"First. They must consist of many petty payments, faithful disbursement of which in remote parts of the district will be difficult to ensure.

"Secondly. They lead the school-master to look exclusively to the Government, and to neglect the interest of the people. The school-masters are considered the servants of the Government and not of the people, and are, therefore, viewed with less cordiality and more of distrust, than if they were remunerated by an endowment of land.

"Thirdly. There will always be danger lest the actual appointment of a village school-master, or his apprehended introduction into a village without the wish of the people, will discourage others from coming forward to meet the voluntary exertions of the people. The Government schools may sometimes supersede and discourage the natural efforts of the people to supply their own wants."⁴⁹

But with all this justification, Thomason was to revise educational programme of 1846 because of the final and unalterable decision of the Court. And since Thomason had set his heart upon the removal of illiteracy from the North-Western Provinces, he drew

47. Muir, W., op. cit., pp. 81-82.

48. Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 240-242.

49. Thornton to G. A. Bushby, dated the 18th April, 1848, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 399.

up another educational plan within a short period of two years. This was more realistic in approach and pyramidal in constitution. The base of the pyramid was to be formed by the village schools which were to be opened at the headquarters of every Tahseeldar. The course of instruction in these schools consisted of reading and writing the vernacular language—both Urdu and Hindi—accounts and mensuration of land according to the Indian system. To these subjects were added instruction in Geography, History, Geometry and other general subjects. The medium of instruction was the vernacular language.⁵⁰ The standard of teaching was to be elementary and education suited to the requirements of average villagers.⁵¹ These village schools or Tahsil schools were to be conducted by a school-master. He was to receive from the Government a salary of Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per mensem, besides such fees as he could collect from his scholars and thus the endowment of land or jagir to them was abandoned. He was to have good knowledge of Urdu and Hindi and was supposed to be familiar with Ram Saran Das' four books. He was chosen mostly from persons residing in the neighbourhood and preference was given to a man of well-established reputation.⁵²

In every two or more Tahseeldaris the scheme envisaged to appoint a Pargana Visitor (Deputy-Inspector) who was to receive a monthly salary ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40.⁵³ He was supposed to know Urdu and Hindi and be familiar with Ram Saran Das' four books, as also with the usual elementary books in those languages. He was to be chosen as far as possible from persons residing in the neighbourhood. Those who had local influence and a well-established reputation were preferred. His duty was to visit at least twice in the year, all the principal villages in their districts and especially every one in which there might be schools and thus to as-

50. Elliot to Thornton, dated February 28, 1851, No. 50, vide Home Public Proceedings No. 13 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 13/15 of November 4, 1853; also Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 249 ff.

51. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., op. cit., p. 128.

52. Thornton to Bushby, dated 18th April, 1848, General Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 399-400; also Richey, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 243-244; also Hompton, H. V., Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education, p. 199.

53. Elliot to Thornton, February 28, 1851, No. 50, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 7, 1852; also Thornton's draft of the scheme promoting vernacular education in the N. W. P.; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 403-404.

certain the available means of instruction. The scheme also laid down that where there was no village school, the Pargana Visitor was to explain to the people the advantages that were likely to result from the institution of a school. The Pargana Visitor was also required to assist the local people in finding qualified teachers and in providing the reading material. Where schools were already in existence, the Pargana Visitor was needed to ascertain the nature of the instruction, the number of scholars and to offer his assistance to the person conducting the school. On the acceptance of this offer of assistance, the school was to be entered in the official record and an arrangement was to be made for conducting the examination of the students. The Pargana Visitor was also instructed to compile a list of advanced scholars and to recommend from time to time such measures which, when implemented, were likely to tone up the general standard of education. He was also expected to procure the necessary books, award suitable prizes to deserving teachers and scholars and to recommend students for free admission to the Tahseeldari schools.⁵⁴

In his turn the Pargana Visitor was responsible to the Zillah Visitor (Inspector) in each district. The Zillah Visitor was also to be conversant with the Hindi and Urdu languages, so as to be able to read and write them with ease, and to be familiar with the books ordinarily read in them. He was also supposed to be acquainted with either Persian, or Sanskrit. He was required to understand the mode in which a Settlement missul was compiled, as also the Patwari's accounts, arithmetic, and land mensuration, as practised by Indians. He was to inspect every considerable school at least once in the year. He was also to superintend the Tahseeldari school masters. The sum of about Rs. 500 in each year was given to the Zillah Visitor which was to be used for giving rewards to the most deserving village teachers by him. He was also to be the agent for the sale of school books which he was to receive from the Curator of School-Books at Agra. He had the entire responsibility for the safe custody of the books and the realization of the price, and was to receive a commission of 10 per cent on all the sales effected by him. The Zillah Visitor was also to report annually on the state of education in the district to which he was appointed, giving the several particulars which were required in the orders

54. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 403-404; also Elliot to Thornton, dated February 28, 1851; No. 50, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings No. 15 of May 7, 1852.

regarding the statistics of education furnished to the Government, and noting all facts that came to his knowledge, which threw light on the progress of education among the people. The monthly salary of this officer was to range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200.⁵⁵

The **Zillah** and **Pargana** Visitors were especially instructed to conduct themselves with the greatest courtesy and conciliation both to the people at large and to the village teachers. Both of these officers were required carefully to avoid anything which was offensive or distasteful to the feelings of those with whom they had communication.⁵⁶ Their only duty was to persuade, encourage assist and reward in matters educational. It is also important to note that the school-master under compulsion was to receive either the **Pargana** or **Zillah** Visitor, contrary to his wish. But where those visits were declined, the Visitors were to ascertain the circumstances of the schools from such sources of information as were open to them, and were supposed to mention them in their reports. No village school-master, who declined the aid of the Visitors, was entitled to receive any reward.⁵⁷

Above these two functionaries, i.e., **Pargana** and **Zilla** Visitors, was to be appointed a Visitor General for the whole of the province on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month. Apart from the monthly salary, the Visitor General was also entitled to travelling allowance at the rate of As. 8 per mile.⁵⁸ He was only to be selected from the cadre of Civilians of talent and experience.⁵⁹ He was required to issue directives for the implementation of the scheme and was the over-all in-charge of the progress of education in the province.

Normally each district was to have one **Zillah** Visitor, three **Pargana** Visitors and six school-masters. The following was the estimate of the expense which was supposed to be involved in the introduction of this system:⁶⁰

55. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 403-404; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 13 and 15 of May 7, 1852.

56. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 404.

57. Thornton's Draft of the scheme for Promoting Vernacular Education in N.-W.P., vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 404.

58. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 401.

59. Ibid., loc. cit.

60. Thornton to Bushby, dated April 18, 1848, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 400.

1 Zillah Visitor		Rs.	150
{ 3 Pargana Visitors @ Rs.. 30		Rs.	90
{ 6 Tahseeldari school-masters @ Rs. 15		Rs.	90
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Total per mensem for each district		Rs.	330
<hr/>			
Or per annum	Rs.	3,960
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Add for awards	Rs.	540
<hr/>			
Total for each district	..	Rs.	4,500
<hr/>			

The above estimate did not include the total annual expenditure of Rs. 13,200 which comprised the salary and travelling allowance of the Visitor General.⁶¹

An Estimate

Thus the proposed educational agency of Thomason in the revised plan was intended to stimulate the masses to self-exertion, so that they could play an effective role in removing their ignorance. It was also envisaged that the machinery would provide the people with qualified teachers and appropriate reading material, so that they could wage a successful war against the demon of illiteracy. To ensure the effectiveness of the scheme and to accomplish the aims outlined above the revised plan of mass education was also integrated with the revenue system. This dovetailing of a mass education programme with the land revenue settlement by Thomason further roused the masses to the awareness of the evils resulting from ignorance. It stressed and highlighted the need of practical learning. It demonstrated to the rural folk that they could safeguard their rights more competently if they availed themselves of the opportunity of the intellectual development offered by Thomason's scheme. Thomason had an astute insight into the ultimate bearing and philosophy of his scheme for he could very well foresee the fruits that the scheme was likely to bear in the future. He rightly hoped that if the scheme could succeed in arousing the powers of the mind into purposeful action, the intellectual powers

*There were on an average about six **Tahseeldaris** in every district; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 400.

61. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 401.

generated and released by the scheme could be channelised for further mental development.⁶²

He was aware of the vast intellectual potentiality of the masses which had been lying dormant and untapped. His dream was to utilize this unharnessed energy for the purpose of effective administration. His revised scheme of mass education undoubtedly contemplated the utilization of the energies of the people for their own betterment also. This was decidedly a better *modus operandi* than promoting education entirely at the Government's expense. Persuasion, resistance and encouragement were the principal means and the greatest consideration was to be shown to the feelings and sentiments of the people. No interference of any description was ever to be exercised where people conducting their own schools did not demand any extraneous help.⁶³

The success of the scheme was to be judged by the numerical strength as well as the qualitative consideration of the indigenous schools established in pursuance of this scheme. In general the campaign was to create a climate of social opinion which could prove conducive to an all-round improvement in the educational structure. It was recommended that in the interest of speedy and effective results, the educational drive should be launched in collaboration with the revenue authorities.⁶⁴ For this purpose the functionaries of the Revenue Department, especially those who belonged to the lower official strata, were to be properly trained.⁶⁵ Thomson realised that the success of a big experiment depended considerably on the attention to the minor details. Therefore, he stressed the need for improving the education of such subordinate officials as *Patwaris*, *peons* and *watchmen*.⁶⁶ Under the proposed revised scheme, arrangements were to be made for the proper training of *Patwaris* and for ascertaining the qualifications of the candidates or nominees to that office. The submission of the certificates of qualifications from some higher officer employed in the Department was made a *sine-qua-non* for advancement to the post of *Patwari* and also many other appointments where educational attainments were evidently more desirable.⁶⁷

62. Elliot to Thornton, dated February 28, 1851, No. 50, vide Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 13 and 15 of May 7, 1852.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

Thus the proposals of the revised plan to which the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council was solicited were as follows :

"First. Sanction to an expenditure not exceeding 36,000 rupees per annum for the promotion of the proposed plan of vernacular education in eight districts.

"Second. Permission to charge to the general finances, the sums which have been already expended during the current year for this purpose from the education funds.

"Third. Authority to appoint a Civilian to be Visitor General of Government schools either permanently on a salary of 1,000 rupees per mensem and travelling allowances at 8 annas a mile, or temporarily on a deputation allowance corresponding with that amount of fixed salary."⁶⁸

The Court of Directors accorded their approval to the revised educational scheme of Thomason in their Despatch, dated October 3, 1849, and Rs. 50,000 were sanctioned for its implementation.⁶⁹ It was sanctioned to be introduced, as desired by Thomason, at first only in eight districts, viz., Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Agra, Mathura, Mainpuri, Aligarh, Farrukhabad, and Etawali.⁷⁰ The scheme was formally inaugurated on February 9, 1850, and incorporated almost in toto the revised proposals of Thomason.⁷¹ Mr. H.S. Reid, the District Magistrate of Mainpuri, was appointed the first Visitor General for the inspectorial work of these schools.⁷² He ordered an enquiry into all the eight districts under him and found that in all there were 3,127 schools.⁷³

68. Thornton to Bushby, dated April 18, 1848, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 401-402.

69. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 402.

70. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., op. cit., p. 130; also the Journal of the Allahabad Historical Society, Vol. II and III, 1964, p. 72.

71. Home Public Proceedings No. 13 and 15 of May 7, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 13/15 of November 4, 1853; also Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 249 ff.

72. Home Public Proceedings Nos. 46-47 of May 28, 1852; also O'Malley, L.S.S., Modern India and the West, p. 152.

73. "His survey, which covered eight districts with 50 towns and 14,572 villages, showed 3,127 schools of all sorts and 27,853 scholars. Twenty of the schools included English in their courses. Vernacular schools numbered less than half the total being outnumbered by Persian... the highest type of school was the Arabic mad-rasa, in which students might linger till well advanced in manhood. vide O'Malley, L.S.S. op. cit., p. 152; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 46,47 of May 28, 1852.

Thomason's revised plan of mass vernacular education soon became popular. Speaking before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on May 31, 1853, Edward Thornton observed that : "A very interesting experiment is going on with respect to vernacular education in the North-Western Provinces. It is found that education is seized with avidity by the population there (N.-W.P.), while in the Lower Provinces there is great apathy"⁷⁴ for the same. The scheme, on the one hand, had encouraged the people to multiply their own schools, on the other the Tahsil schools served as an ideal example of right teaching and a nursery of good teachers. Every possible measure was taken to prevent the Tahsil schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the people themselves. To ensure the success of this measure the terms of admission stipulated in the Tahsil schools were usually higher than indigenous schools. Sometimes, free admissions were granted but this concession could only be obtained on the recommendations of village school-masters themselves.⁷⁵

The following figures from Reid's table quoted in his Report dated August 4, 1853, give an idea of the success of the revised Thomasonian scheme of education :⁷⁶

Year	Schools	Scholars
1850 (probably imperfect)	2,014	17,169
1850-51	3,127	28,636
1851-52	3,329	31,843
1852-53	3,469	36,884

Thus these figures clearly indicate a marked increase and progress not only in the number of schools but also in those of the students too. Dr. Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education, Calcutta, also reported in terms of unqualified praise regarding the new system. Of the examination of the school at Aligarh, where some hundred of pupils were collected by Mr. Reid, the Visitor General, from the district for inspection, Mouat writes that :

"During my long connection with education in India, and familiarity with the attainments and appearance of the pupils of

74. Thornton on May 31, 1853, in Lords Report from Committee, 1852-53, Vol. XXXII, Question Nos. 5974 and 5976.

75. Elliot to Thornton of February 28, 1851, No. 50, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 and 15 of May 7, 1852.

76. Muir, W., to Plowden, G.A.C., on August 4, 1853, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of November 4, 1853.

all castes and classes, I never witnessed a more gratifying and interesting scene."⁷⁷

Of the general scheme Dr. Mouat further said that :

"It will be at once apparent that the scheme and manner of working it meet with my entire approval; it is no small praise of a great plan of national education, which has barely completed the third year of its existence, to record that it has not only fully and fairly attained the object for which it was designed, as far as its limited trial will admit of, but has actually already outrun its own means of extension, for want of books and instruments of a higher order than those now in use. In the second year of its trial in the experimental districts sanctioned, it has raised the number of boys from 17,000 to 30,000, has thrown into the schools between 30,000 and 40,000 school books of a better class than those heretofore in use, and has given such an impulse to the cause of vernacular education as cannot fail, in a very few years, to produce the fruits that invariably result from a spread of knowledge in the right direction."⁷⁸

A very significant result of Thomason's revised plan was that the quality of instruction also improved considerably. The Visitor General's Report of August 4, 1853, brings out the fact more clearly where it has been remarked that formerly primary education was mostly a crude "exercise of memory rather than of the understanding."⁷⁹ It was imparted in the medium of Kaithi script and printed books too were rarely used.⁸⁰ But under the revised plan the Government had adopted Urdu and Hindi as media of instruction and the use of the Nagri character had become quite popular while the Kaithi script was steadily forsaken.⁸¹

Persuaded by these happy and successful results of his educational experiment, Thomason, only two months before his death, laid down a report on its progress in detail before the Government of India, and solicited sanction to extend it over the whole of North-Western Provinces. The soundness of the scheme impressed Dalhousie so much that he ordered it to be enforced not only in

77. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 86.

78. Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 262-263.

79. William Muir to G.A.C. Plowden on August 4, 1853, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of November 4, 1853.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

31 districts of the North-Western Provinces but also in Bengal and Bihar.⁸² To quote Dalhousie's own words :

"Five years ago I had the honour of recommending to the Hon'ble Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for the promotion of Vernacular Education, by the instruction of schools in each Tahseel on the part of the Government. The scheme, which was designed ultimately for the whole of the 31 districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honour for the time to eight of these districts.... Three years have since elapsed and I now submit to my Hon'ble colleagues feelings of genuine satisfaction a despatch in which the late Lieut.-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment and asked that the scheme of vernacular education should now be extended in its full integrity to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the Government of the North-Western Provinces.... Alluding to the districts, in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said, "In all these parts there is a population no less teeming and a people as capable of learning." The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance.... I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency.... I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Bihar those means of education which notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them an acceptable form, but which we are not told upon by the experienced authority of Dr. Mouat are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieut.-Governor before us."⁸³

Thomason's revised scheme of vernacular education was also later on introduced in Panjab.⁸⁴

The Halkabandi System

While assessing the contribution of Thomason in the field of education, it is worth noting that along with the experiment of the above-

82. Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 226.

83. Dalhousie's Minute, dated 25th October, 1853, cited in Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 226-228.

84. Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 281.

mentioned educational plan in its early stages, another scheme of Halkabandi (Circle) School system initiated at the insistence of Mr. Alexander, the Collector of Mathura, was also running simultaneously in the North-Western Provinces in 1851.⁸⁵ To this scheme too Thomason gave his entire support. Under this scheme the villages were grouped in circles of five and a school was opened at a central place which was not more than two miles off from each village of the circle.⁸⁶ The landholders of each group used to pay for a school by a voluntary cess of 1 per cent on the land revenue, and an equal amount was to be contributed by the Government. The rate of 1 per cent on the Government jumma to the cesses to be paid by the landowners was levied in 1851.⁸⁷ It was deducted from the rental assets of the estate before proceeding to consider and declare the portion of those assets which were properly to be taken as Government revenue.⁸⁸ The system of cess for educational purposes was the idea of Thomason and not of Alexander's. This idea of Thomason was then new to India, and even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870.⁸⁹ The Government's contribution to the 1 per cent cess thus evolved the practice of grants-in-aid for educational institutions by the Government. This system of Halkabandi schools proved quite useful for the development of Indian education and satisfied the needs of the village people. Alexander also deserves praise for successfully operating this scheme. The scheme was first of all introduced in Mathura and later on in other neighbouring districts also by the Collectors who were impressed by its success at Mathura. In 1852-53 this scheme was tried in the same eight districts where the revised scheme of Thomason was being carried out, but afterwards it was extended as other districts came under land revenue settlement.⁹⁰ It became popular within a very short period of time. There were about 17,000 pupils in 760 Halkabandi schools by the close of 1854.⁹¹

85. Hampton, H.V., *op. cit.*, p. 202.

86. For details see Despatch of 1859, para 19; also Hunter Commission Report. 1883; also Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, p. 14; also Reid, H.S., *Selections from the Records of the Government of the N.-W.P. Memorandum on Halqabandi Schools (New Series)*, Vol. 3, (1856).

87. Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 269-270.

88. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 270.

89. Nurullah, S., Naik, J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 127; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 119 of May 31, 1850.

90. Hampton, H.V., *op. cit.*, p. 202.

91. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

Thus Thomason's attitude of co-operation for Halkabandi schools, his ceaseless efforts for the development of Tahseeldari schools and his scheme of establishing an educational machinery for their proper inspection and organization shows the amount of interest he took in the promotion of primary vernacular education. His abovementioned educational schemes are the bedrock of the modern education although some modifications have been made from time to time. Dr. S. P. Chaube has rightly observed that "The present day primary education is really Thomason's gift and his name would remain immortal in the history of Indian education because it was due to his efforts that the Government accepted the responsibility of developing and expanding the native schools."⁹² Thomason has himself underlined the ideas which motivated the introduction of this scheme. He observes: "I want to do something consonant with native institutions and ideas, and also to induce its people to work with me, and exert themselves, in the cause."⁹³ His own earnestness and enthusiasm triumphed, for he had to overcome opposition—even from his friends and colleagues; some feared that the people would resent even the slightest interference with indigenous schools, while others urged that, without Christian teaching, his scheme would be a waste of energy and money.⁹⁴ The former critics had to be content with the Lieutenant-Governor's assurance that he himself had a more intimate knowledge than any one else in the province of the outlook and feelings of the poor; to the latter he replied that his purpose was "to enlighten people, not to teach religion."⁹⁵ Thus though Thomason himself was no doubt a sincere and true Christian, he was precluded by his official position from teaching Christianity.

Other Vital Measures

Apart from implementing his new schemes of education in the province, Thomason took an equally keen interest in all those educational institutions which had already been in existence.⁹⁶ All such

92. Chaube, S.P., op. cit., p. 321.

93. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 174.

94. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., Vol. II p. 191.

95. Ibid., loc. cit.

96. The institutions which fell to the share of this province when it attained the status of an administrative unit in 1843, were the colleges at Agra, Delhi, Banaras, and the schools at Allahabad, Azamgarh, Bareilly, Banaras, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Farrukhabad,

schools and colleges whose condition was unsatisfactory, were closed and new ones were started in their place.⁹⁷ For instance, the School at Meerut was wound up in 1844;⁹⁸ the Farrukhabad school was closed down in 1848,⁹⁹ and the Allahabad school was discontinued in 1846.¹⁰⁰ The Government Bareilly School which had been set up in 1836 was raised to the status of a Government College in 1850 and mentioned as such in Reid's Report of Public Instruction for the year 1850.¹⁰¹ A Government Free School was also started at Meerut on September 25, 1848.¹⁰² In the Banaras Sanskrit **Pathshala**, the English and Sanskrit sections, functioning separately so far, were united by him under the Principalship of J. Muir in 1844.¹⁰³ Dr. Ballantyne, who succeeded Muir in 1846, took up a number of steps for the progress of both English and Oriental studies under the inspiration of Thomason.¹⁰⁴ He attempted to enforce the study of English by avoiding the appearance of compulsion. He continued scholarships for those students indefinitely who either took to advanced studies in Sanskrit or English after they had completed their normal Sanskrit courses.¹⁰⁵ One of his ambi-

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Meerut, Delhi, Jabalpur and Sagar; *ide* Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 3 of 1843, Vol. 502; also General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1843-44; Appendix I, pp. xci-xcii.

97. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 3 of 1843, Vol. 502.

98. *Ibid.*

99. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 4 of 1844, Vol. 502.

100. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 2 of 1847, Vol. 502.

101. Atkinson: N.-W. Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. V, p. 595.

102. Home Miscellaneous Records, General Department Proceedings, No. 4 of 1848, Vol. 502; also Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 6 and 16 of June 24, 1848.

103. As early as 1841, Thomason had also recommended the amalgamation under J. Muir of the Oriental and English Departments of the Delhi College on the ground that "great facilities will thus be afforded for the simultaneous acquisition of Oriental and European learning which may be expected to exercise a salutary influence on the former," *vide* Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 253.

104. Home Public Proceedings, No. B.5 of May 17, 1845; also Nos. 12-13-15-17 of December 27, 1845; also No. 4 of May 7, 1845.

105. General Report of Public Instruction in the N.-W.P. for 1850-51; pp. 52 to 56.

tious schemes, as reported by Ballantyne in the Annual Report of 1850-51, was supplying the learning of the West through books in the Sanskrit language.¹⁰⁶ It is also to be noted that Thomason's main purpose in appointing Dr. Ballantyne as the Principal of the Sanskrit *Pathshala* was to develop especially the Department of Advanced Philosophy. Dr. Ballantyne was a specialist of Hindu and Western philosophy. Thomason's own idea of old Indian philosophy and learning was, "We have not found the people of this country an ignorant or simple race. They were possessed of a system of philosophy which we could not ignore. Some persons in the pride of political superiority may affect to despise it, but it has roused the curiosity and excited the wonder of the learned in all countries of Europe."¹⁰⁷ Thus advancing from the premises of Hindu philosophy Dr. Ballantyne made available to his *Pandit* pupils the work of European philosophers and showed by his treatises how correct conclusions of European philosophy might be attained.¹⁰⁸ Apart from the Department of Philosophy, Thomason had also tried to promote the Astronomical Studies in this institution under the same Principal, Dr. Ballantyne. For the proper development of the department, he had given great help in purchasing and procuring most of the Astronomical literature available at that time.¹⁰⁹

Another important school, called the Jai Narain Ghoshal School, was converted into a College in 1853 at Banaras.¹¹⁰ At Agra too Thomason had established a Normal School in 1852.¹¹¹

As a private individual Thomason did not hesitate to lend liberal support to missionary work, particularly that of the Church Mission Society which worked a lot in the educational field at Agra particularly.¹¹² With the help of this Society, St. Peter's Roman Catholic School was set up at Agra in 1846.¹¹³ The Protestant Church

106. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; also Thomas, F.W., *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, (1891), p. 42.

107. Thomason's speech delivered at the opening of the Banaras College, January 11, 1853, cited in Muir, W., *op. cit.*, p. 79; also Home Miscellaneous Records, No. 3 of 1853, Vol. 502.

108. Home Miscellaneous Records, No. 3 of 1853, Vol. 502; also Temple, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

109. Home Public Proceedings, No. 28 of February 10, 1844; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 29 of May 4, 1844.

110. Chaube. S.P., *op. cit.*, p. 323.

111. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

112. Agra University Calendar, 1851-52; p. 483; also Etkin-son, *North-West Provinces Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 504.

113. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 504.

Mission, which also received Thomason's assistance, had established St. John's College at Agra in 1850.¹¹⁴

But in the field of female education, Thomason's contribution is almost nil. According to a contemporary periodical, the 'Calcutta Christian Observer', there were about 31 girls schools with 737 students run by the Christian missionaries in the province in 1851.¹¹⁵ This indicates that Thomason's Government was slow in realizing the importance of female education.

Planning for Technical Education

But what Thomason lacked in the field of female education, was compensated in the sphere of engineering education. He gave fullest possible help in promoting the engineering education. The reason was the acute shortage of engineers and technicians, whose services were greatly needed in irrigation schemes and other public works which were being then undertaken in the province. Thus in order to tide this problem, Thomason resolved to train Indians as engineers and technicians and therefore drew a detailed project of engineering education to be implemented in the province. To start with, he first of all sent three very capable Indian students of the Agra College to be employed for intensive training under the English engineers of the Ganga Canal, then engaged on the extensive head-works at Haridwar.¹¹⁶ But as this process could not provide the number of skilled men and engineers required at that time, Thomason proposed the establishment of an engineering institution at Saharanpur, a place quite near Haridwar. The proposal fructified in January 1845 and a class of Indian engineering students was started under the supervision of Lieutenant Baird Smith, Superintendent of the Eastern Jamuna Canal.¹¹⁷ For the successful functioning of the Saharanpur School certain disbursements were sanctioned by Thomason.¹¹⁸ Not only this, further impetus was given to this

114. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Agra University Calendar, 1851-52, p. 483.

115. The Calcutta Christian Observer, Calcutta, November, 1851, pp. 519-520.

116. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 19-30 of September 13, 1845.

117. Appendix 'D' to Education Report for the North-Western Provinces, 1844-45, p. 123.

118. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, pp. 301-302.

school, if it could be termed such, by the establishment of the grade of Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers in 1845.¹¹⁹ The following rules constituting this class of officers were promulgated by the sanction of the Supreme Government on October 9, 1845 :

- I. "A class of officers shall be appointed, to be denominated 'Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.'"
- II. "The salary of the appointment shall be 100 rupees per mensem, with travelling allowance, when in the field, to the extent of three-tenths of the salary as fixed by the orders of Government, dated September 19th, 1843."
- III. "The rules for joining stations and for leave of absence prescribed for Sub-Assistant Surgeons shall be held applicable to Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers."
- IV. "All candidates for the appointments shall be required to prove, by an examination, that they possess the following qualifications :

"A knowledge of Algebra, Geometry, plane and spherical Trigonometry, Conic Section and Mechanics."

"Acquaintance with the use of the sextant, Theodolite, Levelling Instruments and other instruments commonly used in surveying with a practical knowledge of Land Survey and Levelling."

"Ability to draw maps and plans, including the construction of working plans from designs, models, or actual existing works."

"Acquaintance with the method of keeping accounts in the Department of Public Works, and with the mode of preparing estimates."
- V. "A Committee will be formed, once or often in a year for the purpose of examining candidates and giving them certificates of qualification. If it be found inconvenient for this Committee to assemble together, they will decide on questions to be answered in writing, and will hold at such place or places and in such manner, as may be found convenient."
- VI. "Candidates for these examinations are desired to submit their application to the Secretary to the Government of the North-

119. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Atkinson, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 238 to 240; also the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, pp. 502 to 504.

Western Provinces, in the General Department, but no application will be received which are not accompanied with the survey (including Map, the Field Book) of a tract of country, and with the plan, section and estimate of a building, sufficient to show the competency of the candidates in these branches of Education. These must be accompanied with a certificate from one of the officers noted in the margin¹²⁰ that the specimen are, to the best of his belief, the actual performances of the candidates and that all candidates have also studied and made progress in the several branches of science noted above. The abovementioned officers have been requested to grant such certificates, when they think them merited, and to forward the application under their official cover."¹²¹

The number of Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers was at first limited to 4 and was subsequently (December 22, 1846) increased to 20.¹²² But the Saharanpur scheme too did not succeed in providing the required number of trained men in time. As a result Thomason brought out another proposal of starting an Engineering College to train Indians and Europeans as engineers, overseers and subordinates.¹²³ Thomason's proposal received the hearty approval of the Governor-General Lord Hardinge in 1847, as he too was interested to carry on the vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal which required great number of trained hands for that project.¹²⁴ Roorkee, which was simply a village at that time, was selected as the suitable site for the opening of the proposed Engineering College.¹²⁵ The

120. "Superintending Engineer and Executive Officers in the Central and Western Provinces; Superintendents of Embankments and Water Courses in Rohilkhand; Superintending and Executive Officers of Canals; Principal of Delhi Colleges, Principal of Agra Colleges, Principal of Banaras Colleges; Superintendent of Bareilly School," vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, pp. 301-302.

121. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Atkinson, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 238-240.

122. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, p. 302.

123. Thornton to Elliot, No. 594 A, of September 23, 1847, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 26, 1849; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 12 of June 21, 1849.

124. Elliot to Thornton, No. 273 of October 5, 1847, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847.

125. Roorkee is situated about half-way between Saharanpur and Haridwar, at the point a little to the south of the Sewalik range

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reason and circumstances which caused the selection of this spot as the site of the Engineering College have thus been enumerated by Thomason in one of his letters to the Governor-General, dated September 23, 1847 :

"The establishment now forming at Roorkee near the Solani aqueduct on the Ganges Canal affords peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large workshops and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. Above all, a number of scientific and experimental Engineering officers are constantly assembled on the spot or occasionally resorting thither.

"These officers, however, all have their appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary to the formation of an expert civil engineer.

"On these accounts the Lieutenant-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an Institution for the education of Civil Engineers which should be immediately under the local Government in the Education Department."¹²⁶

Thus after the selection and approval of the site, Rs. 12,000 in monthly instalments of Rs. 1,000 were also earmarked for a building of the Engineering College.¹²⁷ Lieutenant R. Maclagan of the Royal Bengal Engineers was appointed the first Principal of the Roorkee Engineering College.¹²⁸ The prospectus of the college was also issued in a Gazette Order of November 25, 1847.¹²⁹ In the beginning the teaching work was started under tents from January 1, 1848, but the Col-

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of hills, where the Ganga Canal leaves the low land bordering the river, and enters upon the high land forming the water-shed of the Doab. This level is reached by a large aqueduct across the Solani river, a tributary to the Ganga running under Roorkee, and immediately to its east.

126. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, pp. 304-305.

127. Thornton to Elliot, No. 594 A, dated September 23, 1847, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 26, 1849; also Home Public Proceedings No. 18 of June 14, 1850.

128. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, p. 305; for details see Appendix 'J'.

129. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847, also for details of the Prospectus see Appendix 'K'.

lege building was soon ready and the institution shifted to it.¹³⁰ There were in the beginning only 16 seats in the College which soon after were raised to 24.¹³¹ Each student was given free accommodation and a monthly stipend of Rs. 5.¹³² The most important thing about this institution was that the medium of instruction was in the Vernacular language, i.e., Hindi or Urdu.¹³³ As soon as the students completed their courses, they were absorbed in the Government projects as Assistant Engineers, Overseers, Sub-Overseers, Surveyors and Draftsmen according to their ability.¹³⁴ For the large-scale development of the College, Thomason proposed certain important measures to be taken under his regime. Some of them were :

"First. The admission of officers both of the Royal and East India Company's Armies to study at Roorkee College.

"Secondly. The improvement and superintendence of the village schools in a Circle of 40 or 50 miles round Roorkee.

"Thirdly. The establishment in connection with the College of a Depot of Mathematical and Scientific Instruments, and of a workshop for their manufacture and repair.

"Fourthly. The formation of a Museum of Economic Geology.

"Fifthly. The erection of an Observatory for Instruction.

"Sixthly. The maintenance of Metal and Stone Printing Presses with a Book-binder's Establishment, and all that is necessary for the publication of scientific works, with appropriate drawings and illustrations.

"Seventhly. The enlargement of the College building and Establishment to meet all these purposes."¹³⁵

130. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 167.

131. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 308.

132. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 308.

133. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 308.

134. Richey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 261; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 311-314; also for details see "Report on the Roorkee College" (1851).

135. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, p. 318; also Home Public Proceedings No. 119 of September 19, 1851; also Home Public Proceedings No. 19 of October 8, 1852.

The implementation of all these measures was started from 1851.¹³⁶ First of all, a new class was started for the commissioned Officers of the army. There were certain rules and conditions for their admission. They were :

"European Commissioned Officers of the Army under the rank of a field-officer will be permitted to study at the Civil Engineering College at Roorkee on the following terms :

1. "The candidates for admission must be qualified, by acquaintance with the Military duties and by having passed the examination in the Vernacular languages, to have charge of a Company.
2. "His application is to be addressed through his Commanding Officer to the Principal of the College who after having satisfied himself that the candidate is likely to profit by the course of study, will forward the application for the approval of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
3. "Admission to the College will take place from the commencement of March to the end of June. Applications should be forwarded so as to permit the candidates, joining not later than June 30th, after leave formerly granted in General Orders.
4. "The duration of the first permission to study at the College, will be till November 1st of the same year, but if the progress of the student is satisfactory, and his conduct otherwise exemplary, the Principal will be at liberty to forward his application to Headquarters for permission to remain another year at the College. No student will be allowed to remain longer than the November year after his first admission unless on special sanction granted under peculiar circumstances.
5. "The Principal of the College may at any time recommend His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that an officer be remanded to his Regiment.
6. "Officers studying at Roorkee under these rules will be required to pay Rs. 10 a month to the College library fund.
7. "Officers who obtain permission to study at Roorkee College will be considered "Absent on duty," and will be so reported in the Regimental Returns."¹³⁷

The College also secured its own printing press, with a book-

136. Home Public Proceedings, No. 11 of November 7, 1851.

137. Ibid., also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, p. 320.

binders establishment and all that was necessary for the publication of scientific works with appropriate drawing and illustrations.¹³⁸

Apart from this, a Geological Museum, good Library and a Depot for the sale of mathematical instruments were also set up in the College.¹³⁹ The Geological Museum had great importance for the Civil Engineering students, where they were shown the specimens of building material from all parts of the country.¹⁴⁰ For further development of this branch Thomason had proposed to appoint an expert from England to report on the methods of enriching the Department of Economic Geology. But this proposal could not be put into effect during his regime.¹⁴¹ Similarly, he also wanted to develop the Mathematics Department of Roorkee College and for that purpose he had demanded one additional post of Professorship in this branch which was approved and created in 1851.¹⁴²

In the field of invention and manufacture of cheap substitutes for expensive instruments in the College Workshop, Thomason had appointed Lieut. A. Allen, the 55th N.I. Engineer of Ganga Canal Workshop, whose contribution was quite considerable.¹⁴³ In one of his official despatches, Thomason has observed that Lieutenant Allen "has been able to repair in a superior style instruments which has been accidentally injured, and he has constructed at a very

138. "Already has a most important commencement been made in this branch of operations. Treatises have been drawn up and published both in English and Oordoo, on some of the most important processes of Engineering or Architecture in this country, and many translations in the Oordoo of the most useful and popular English Works on the science are now in the hand." For example Munnoo Lal's (a student of Roorkee College) Urdu translation of Hughes "Principles of Geography" was published from this press, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, pp. 324-325; also Home Public Proceedings No. 21 of May 9, 1851; also Home Public Proceedings No. 24 of July 16, 1852.

139. Home Public Proceedings No. 21 of May 30, 1851; also Home Public Proceedings No. 19 of July 4, 1851; also Thornton to the Military Board, Calcutta, dated 29th July, 1850, General Department, Document No. 398, A, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 514-516; also Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document Nos. 37 and 75, pp. 322-325.

140. Home Public Proceedings No. 36-37 of Sept. 24, 1852.

141. Ibid.

142. Home Public Proceedings, No. 55 of June 20, 1851; also No. 38 of September 12, 1851.

143. Home Public Proceedings No. 21 of May 30, 1851; also No. 19 of July 4, 1851.

trifling cost many ingenious substitutes for the more costly instruments."¹⁴⁴

Thus the Roorkee Engineering College which was placed on a permanent footing in 1849 got sanction of the Supreme Government for its fullest enlargement and improvement in 1853, as was proposed in the original plan.¹⁴⁵ The actual outlay on College buildings was Rs. 35,277 and on establishment Rs. 24,108 per annum.¹⁴⁶ A further proposal of extension at a cost of 1,20,040 for building, furniture and fittings with annual expenses of Rs. 89,898 was made and also sanctioned in 1853.¹⁴⁷ On Thomason's death, the founder's name was perpetuated by renaming the institution as Thomason College of Civil Engineering. Today this College has been given the status of a University and is known as the University of Roorkee.

Thomason thus brought his rich imagination and resourcefulness to bear upon the highly noble and significant task of advancing the cause of education. He was a pioneer in the field of primary vernacular and technical education and his example in this direction was subsequently emulated in other Provinces of India. His stress on the use of vernacular as the medium of instruction not only in study of humanities, but also of technical sciences, has a lesson to many a sceptical mind in our midst at present, who doubt the wisdom of a policy making regional languages the medium of education.

144. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, p. 323.

145. Richey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 356-357.

146. Misra, A.N., *Educational Finance in India*, p. 88.

147. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* . . .

CHAPTER V

Link-Lines and Communications

The Early Contours

The road system developed by the Mughals served the country for a considerable long time. The early surveys of the East India Company conducted by Martin (1750) and by Rennel (1763-66) found a good portion of those roads intact and under use, though in many parts, they were in a state of complete ruin and practically non-existent.¹ The most prevalent and effective means of transportation on those roads was pack ponies and pack bullocks.² Means of Communications were very backward and even Government despatches had to be carried on a man's back at the speed of 3 to 4 miles an hour.³ Such a sorry and backward state of affairs continued till the second decade of the 19th century. The company remained preoccupied with military matters as numerous political convulsions were taking place in the country during that period. The construction activities were mostly confined to the building and repair of army barracks and roads of strategic importance. Even they were neglected almost as soon as they had fulfilled their immediate purpose. This shows that the East India Company did not evince much interest in road-making and that is why there was almost a complete absence of any desire to develop roads for commercial and trade purposes. How deplorable was the state of affairs during the early 19th century is revealed by the despatches of Frederick John Shore to the authorities at home in England in 1833. In one of the despatches he wrote: "As to the roads, excepting roads within the limits of civil stations,

1. History of Road Development in India completed and published by Central Road Research Institute, New Delhi, p. 31; also Sarkar, S.C., and Datta, K.K., Modern Indian History, p. 376.

2. Griffiths, British Impact on India, p. 420.

3. History of Road Development in India, completed and published by Central Road Research Institute, New Delhi, p. 31.

16 miles between Calcutta and Barrackpore is all that we have to boast of. In addition to this, the foundation of a road between Benares and Allahabad and one between Jubbulpore and Mirzapur have been commenced...but unless the construction of these roads be on a better footing, than has been the case with the attempts hitherto made by the English in road making, government might as well spare their money."⁴

Gradually things started improving and the importance of roads began to be better understood. No sooner had the Indian Empire been placed on a somewhat sound footing, than it began to be realised that metalled and bridged public roads were among the first necessities of the State for the development of commerce and trade and also to facilitate army movements. At the same time, the great development in communications in England also stimulated the British rulers of India to take steps in this direction in India also. The credit goes to Lord William Bentinck during whose regime for the first time reforms in the matter of public road construction were inaugurated. It was realised that an improved condition of commercial roads of the country was an essential antecedent to all progress as it lowered the cost of production. It was during this era of increased interest in development of communications that Sir James Thomason carried further the construction of public works in the North-Western Provinces with great vigour. Endowed with a taste for mathematics, and with an engineering eye, he assumed a more decisive and authoritative role in all public works, than any amateur person would in general be inclined to take.⁵

There was no Public Works Department at that time. The Military Boards, as set up by the East India Company in each Presidency, were the chief controlling agencies of all the public construction and repair works.⁶ But there was no separate Military Board for the North-Western Provinces. Thomason too had to work without a separate Board and naturally, for all public works purposes, he was to get the approval of the Military Board of Ben-

4. Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. I, dated May 1833. Quoted by the Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. III, p. 404.

5. In the field of public works, Sir John Strachey remarks that Thomason's example was vigorously followed by his successor Mr. John Colvin, and in the Punjab by the Lawrence. vide Strachey, J. India, Its Administration and Progress, p. 233.

6. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. IV, p. 307.

gal which was to supervise the affairs of this province also. Almost all the Military Boards proved to be an inefficient arrangement in the long run since they were not vested with sufficient financial or administrative powers.⁷ The result of it was that ultimately on account of the poor performance, they were abolished during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) and replaced by the new Department of Public Works.⁸ The dissolution of these Boards was, however, not sudden but was gradually brought about. In this process of winding up the inefficient Military Boards in 1854, Thomason's role was quite important. Familiar as he was with this dilatory and weak machinery, he had been from the very beginning writing from time to time to the Governor-General to impress upon him the urgent necessity of organizing some new agency for the superintendence of civil works in the North-Western Provinces. In fact he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the incompetence of the Military Boards. Mention may here be made of a letter which Thomason's Secretary wrote to G.A. Bushby in which it was emphasized that the motive that actuated the establishment of these Military Boards was to control and regulate the affairs relating to the public works, to ensure and promote administrative efficiency and a thorough check on public expenditure. These aims were, however, frustrated by the impediments and unnecessary bottlenecks in the disbursement machinery. Moreover, the Military Board for the North-Western Provinces was situated in Calcutta and was 900 miles from Agra. Because of this inordinate distance the Board could not establish any direct contact even on some of the vital issues. Such an incompetent part of the administrative machinery made Thomason obviously dissatisfied. He was of the opinion that the Board was imperfectly and as it was only accidentally acquainted with the state of affairs in these provinces. Situated as it was, Thomason observed, it did not exercise any effective control on the financial and economic aspects of the affairs pertaining to public works. Thomason's views should not be construed as a stricture upon its administrative failures. Individually and collectively, the Board had always manifested its eagerness to promote the public welfare and Thomason was all praise for them. What made him a vehement critic of the Board was its inevitable bureaucracy which retarded the speedy and smooth co-ordination and implementation of vital projects. He was, therefore, of the opinion that these Mili-

7. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 404-406; also Vol. IV, p. 307.

8. Hunter, W.W., *The Marquess of Dalhousie, (Rulers of India Series)*, p. 200; also the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, p. 307.

tary Boards throughout the country should be replaced by some suitable machinery evolved after taking these defects into consideration. He favoured the economic philosophy behind the establishment of these Boards, but did not fail to notice the glaring administrative defects in the operations of these Boards.⁹

Thomason possessed the courage of his convictions to a remarkable degree. Once he was certain that the Boards were not conducive to administrative efficiency, he did not miss any opportunity to highlight their defects and to strive vigorously for their replacement by some suitable machinery. The new agency which Thomason envisaged was to eliminate the evils inherent in this system of Military Boards. Therefore he recommended to the Supreme Government that the new controlling authority for the execution of public works must possess scientific skill, official weight and influence and perfect facility of communication with the civil authorities all over the country.¹⁰

Vitalising Link-Lines

Thomason's proposed plan for replacing the Military Board by the new controlling authority for the proper execution of public works appears to be quite scientific and sound. He suggested the appointment of an able Engineer Officer to be the Secretary to the Sadar Board of Revenue, conjointly with the Secretary, who should be vested with the powers of a Junior Member of the Board as regards matters in his own Department. This would enable him to have the fullest opportunities of conferring with the Board, and would have immediate access to the information they possessed, whilst he would also carry with him all influence and would have full scope for travel and local enquiry, while his ordinary residence would be at Agra. His salary was to be consolidated, and a travelling allowance of eight annas a mile was to be given whenever the officer was required to visit parts of the country at distance from Agra. A few more clerks in the Sadar Board's office would be appointed. In the Canal and Road departments a separate agency was to be organised and placed under the Sadar Board of Revenue. The local Road Committees were to remain under the same control. The

9. Letter from J. Thornton, Secretary to Government, N.W.P., to G.A. Bushby, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Fort William. Dated Agra the 12th June, 1845, No. 1147, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 276-277.

10. Letter from J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, dated the 7th June, 1847; No. 43, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 272.

offices of audit and account would go on performing their functions as usual and similarly the system of conducting business and of recording documents as then existed in the Revenue Board would also remain as it had been. The appointment of an officer to arrange statistical and geographical details, and to supervise the supply of lithographic forms, then in extensive use, was also recommended. Thomason also suggested separate agencies for the Canal and Road departments under the Sadar Board of Revenue. The local Road Committees were to be immediately brought under the control of the Road Department. A separate Superintendent of roads, bridges and canals was also to be appointed. In the construction of civil buildings, Thomason thought, there will be some difficulty in entirely disconnecting the inferior agency employed under the Board from that employed under the Roads, Bridges and Canal Departments. This was the reason perhaps why he did not provide in his plan some sound and separate management. The next important point in Thomason's plan was the inclusion of the Executive Officers of several divisions who could certainly be convenient instruments for the execution of the above-mentioned works, though of course they must necessarily remain subordinate to the Military Board. At the same time Thomason thought that the Executive Officers would be often over-burdened with other important duties, which would afford them little leisure for the careful superintendence of those dry and mechanical details. They might also not be able to take up the construction work of great and costly buildings since they worked either on contract or through the agency of civil officers, constructing simple structures, such as those which would be required for ordinary civil purposes. With this aim in view, Thomason had also made provision in his plan for empowering the Executive Engineer under the Sadar Board of Revenue to take up the construction work of the bigger and costlier buildings, without any clash of authority or other inconvenience. Regarding the construction of the Ganga Canal, a scheme of magnitude and importance which was already in progress, Thomason did not think it proper to disturb it and proposed in his plan to let it be conducted by the Military Board itself till it was completed.¹¹

But the abovementioned plan, proposed by Thomason, remained only a general formulation till September, 1847.¹² His spe-

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273; also Land Revenue G.G., No. 15 of 1847.

12. Letter from J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, with the Governor-General, dated the 10th September, 1847; No. 569 A, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 435.

cific recommendations about the proposed reorganization in place of the Boards appeared only after his consultation with Lieutenant-Colonel F. Abbott, C. B. of the Engineers.¹³ He proposed to vest the power of superintendence over civil buildings in the Director who was a member of the Sadar Board of Revenue. He was to draw a consolidated salary of 2,000 rupees per mensem, and was to be assisted by a Secretary, drawing 1,200 rupees per mensem. An entirely separate agency of Local Executive Engineers for Civil Works, one in each revenue division, was also recommended. This local agency would require ten officers in place of seven and involve an increased expenditure of 18,000 rupees per annum. But this increase, as Abbott recommended, was to be supplied from local funds without causing any new charge upon the revenues of the State. Colonel Abbott had also explained the system of accounts he wanted to recommend along with the checks to be imposed on expenditure. All these recommendations were approved by Thomason and forwarded for the early sanction of the Supreme Government.¹⁴ The objection of Thomason against the inefficient arrangements of the public works through the Military Boards was so sound and genuine that the Court of Directors immediately appointed a commission to look into the matter.¹⁵ The commission reported against the system of the Military Board in Bengal, and suggested that each local government should control its public works, civil and military, subject to certain conditions, with the aid of a Chief Engineer and a staff of Superintending, Executive and Assistant Engineers.¹⁶ After the implementation of these recommendations, the Bengal Board was the first to go, being replaced by Public Works Department. Although this took place in 1854, a year after Thomason's death, yet it owed its birth largely to the efforts made by him.

Thomason, however, had to carry on the public works schemes under the old pattern of Military Board. It goes to his credit that though deprived of any professional and responsible Counsellor on the one hand and the constant intervention of the Board on the other, he did not shrink from immediate and independent action wherever necessary. How ably he managed everything in this field by taking a personal interest is clear from the following words of William Muir:

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 435-436.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 436-437.

15. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, p. 307.

16. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

"His admirable skill was manifest in the most intuitive perception of the practicability and usefulness, or otherwise, of any project laid before him. After a deliberate survey of the plans and proposals, he promptly admitted or rejected the scheme. It acknowledged to be useful, and yet perhaps immature and uncertain in its details, directions would be given for further inquiry and development; the papers if sufficiently important would be published and discussion invited; or the whole project would be thrown into the hands of some one of undoubted capacity, either to work into shape or to carry into effect."¹⁷ This amazing zeal and resourcefulness of Thomason left its mark on every development scheme contributing immensely to its success despite all the heavy odds.

The roads, bridges etc., in the North-Western Provinces during Thomason's time were constructed and repaired mostly out of the proceeds from a toll tax on public ferries which was deposited in the Road Fund. Another source of money for the Road Fund was 1 per cent. of the land revenue, which under the contract entered into with the proprietors of land at the time of last settlement, was contributed by them in lieu of the obligation of personal service. It was collected by the Road and Ferry Fund Committee.¹⁸ These two sources provided large sums for construction and repair purposes.¹⁹ Thomason took a keen interest in the proceedings of the

17. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 51.

18. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 1 to 18, dated 25th August, 1843; vide also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 41 dated 13th October, 1843; also the Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 493.

19. Divisions	1 per cent Fund	Surplus Ferry Fund	Total
Delhi	32,845	14,233	47,078
Meerut	69,089	15,625	84,714
Rohilcund	63,690	11,445	75,135
Agra	73,308	15,122	88,430
Allahabad	84,684	24,393	1,09,077
Benares	40,000	47,267	47,267
Total	3,63,016	1,28,085	4,51,701

Note: The one per cent fund is calculated on the demand for 1846-47, but as it only partially prevails in the Benares Division, the entry is in a measure conjectural. The Ferry Fund is assumed at the actual allotted surplus of 1845-46. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 569 A, p. 438; For the details of 1 per cent Road Fund Collections from Farruckabad, Aligarh, Dehra Dun, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Saharanpur, etc., see Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 28-29. August 29, 1843; also Nos. 89-94 of July 28, 1843; also Appendix 'A' 'Statement of Figures.'

Road and Ferry Fund Committees, and liberally fostered every useful scheme they devised. He favoured timely and efficient disbursement of funds collected from the above sources.²⁰ While strongly opposed to any squandering of these funds or their injudicious application, he was equally strongly against refraining from expending them, which, in his eyes, amounted to a betrayal of public trust and a fraud on their contributors who were entitled to receive these benefits in return for their payments.²¹ For superintending²² these disbursements, local committees were formed in several districts. The Magistrate and Executive Engineer were ex-officio members of those committees, and the Commissioner and Superintending Engineers had the power of general control and direction. The funds were thus always disbursed by this agency faithfully and honestly, but the Military Board "mismanaged"²³ expenditure. In a despatch to the Government of India, dated the 7th June, 1847, urging the appointment of a Chief Engineer for the Ganga Canal, Thomason thus described "the hopeless condition of the financial and other resources under the Military Board which hindered the progress of public works :

"The necessary effect of the present state of things, is that in the superintendence of many public works, the Lieutenant-Governor is thrown entirely on his own resources. Works involving much engineering skill are at present under construction in Rohilkhund, in Agra, in Nimar, as well as all over the country, under the Magistrates and Local Committees; and in forming an opinion upon these, the Lieutenant-Governor is forced to depend upon his own knowledge, or the casual assistance which personal friends ungrudgingly afford. But he has no fixed responsible adviser, to whom he could at all times authoritatively refer, and on whose judgment he could implicitly reply.²⁴ This remark proves that as com-

20. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 15 of May 21, 1844; also Board of Revenue Proceedings Nos. 7-8 of August 6, 1844; also Muir, W., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

21. Letter from J. Thornton to H. M. Elliot, with the Governor-General, dated 10th September, 1847, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 569, A, p. 437.

22. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

23. Hunter, W. W., *The Marquess of Dalhousie, (Rulers of India)*, p. 200.

24. Letter from J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, with the Governor-General, dated 7th June, 1847; Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 43, p. 271.

pared to the management of the public works by the Local Committees, the Military Board's arrangements in this branch were "cumbrous, expensive and inefficient."²⁵

Thomason also harnessed the agency of voluntary work to complete some of the projects with economy in expenditure. He, however, did not favour a general recourse to it, thinking that the Local Committees "often misdirected and ill-combined"²⁶ these efforts. He was reluctant to permit the use of voluntary labour on account of the fear of being misused by the local officials to cover up forced labour. Reasons of efficiency and speed also made him sceptical about this practice.

The Local Committees felt handicapped for want of powers which were retained by the Military Board. Thornton thus communicated Thomason's opinion on the weakness of these insulated Committees :

"Good understandings sometimes fail from unskilfulness of execution, and excellent designs are often nipped in the bud for want of power to give effect to them."²⁷

During Thomason's regime many roads criss-crossing the province were constructed. First of all, he built two roads, one joining Pilibheet with Agra by a line running through Bareilly and Badaun, and the other uniting the Saugor and Narbatta Territories with the Doab area via Kalinjar in the Banda district.²⁸ This opened to communication fertile but ill-accessible tracts. Another road constructed during his time connected Mirzapur with Jabalpur.²⁹ Though cramped by limited resources, Thomason devoted minute attention to the Bombay and Agra Road.³⁰ The cost of construction over this proposed road was worked out at Rs. 70,000.³¹

25. Letter from J. Thornton to G.A. Bushby, dated 12th June, 1845, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1147, p. 277.

26. Letter from J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, dated the 10th September, 1847, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 569, A., p. 437.

27. Ibid., p. 437.

28. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 494.

29. Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., p. 323.

30. Home Public Proceedings No. 16 of February 3, 1844.

31. Letter from J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, with the Governor-General, dated 7th June, 1847; Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I,

Paucity of funds prevented the construction of this road. Similarly, another important proposal of his was regarding the Mirzapur-Decan road which also could not materialise due to great expenditure.³² If executed, this road would have been almost on the footing of the Grand Trunk Road line. Likewise, he wanted to construct a road between Mussoorie and Simla, but this also could not be constructed.³³ Another ambitious plan of Thomason in the field of road construction was the opening of a good approach over the Sewalik range to Dehra Dun and Mussoorie. In a Memorandum on this proposed line of road Thomason gave some of the very positive suggestions which are noteworthy. He says: "Determine accurately the watershed of the Doab and of the Doon, where the Sewaliks leave the plains. Then find the points where these watersheds strike the water-shed of the Sewaliks. On these four points raise conspicuous landmarks, and fix their positions on the map. Then minutely examine each of the three intervening sections, so as to determine and map the true water-sheds, and then find how by cuttings, or tunnelling, or bridges, the chief difficulties on each section may be avoided or overcome."³⁴ Though this project of Thomason could not be realised, yet he got completed a rear road from Rajpur to Mussoorie and Landour.³⁵ Apart from this, some important installed roads constructed during Thomason's regime were Naini Tal-Kumaon,³⁶ Delhi-Meerut,³⁷ Sandivah-Akbarpur,³⁸ Banaras-Azamgarh,³⁹ Agra-Mathura,⁴⁰ Meerut-

(Continued from previous page)

Document No. 43, p. 270; also letter to G.A. Bushby from J. Thornton, dated 12th June, 1845, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 147, p. 267; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 52.

32. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 52.

33. Home Public Proceedings, No. 1 of February 10, 1849.

34. 'Sir James Thomason's Memorandum on the proposed line of Road from Dehra Dun to the plains through the Sewalik'. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 64, p. 261.

35. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 32 to 38 of February 15, 1845.

36. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 26 of May 6, 1845.

37. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 55 of April 7, 1846.

38. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 16 to 22 of July 6, 1844.

39. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 140 of October 13, 1846.

40. Home Public Proceedings, No. 23 of February 13, 1847.

Saharanpur,⁴¹ Meerut-Karnal,⁴² Mirzapur-Son,⁴³ Aligarh-Mainpuri⁴⁴ and Agra-Etawah.⁴⁵ A special Tram-Road was also constructed at Agra.⁴⁶ Thomason had also acquired lands for developing small city roads in Meerut,⁴⁷ Saharanpur,⁴⁸ Agra,⁴⁹ Banaras,⁵⁰ Aligarh,⁵¹ Bulandshahr⁵² and Devgaon.⁵³ Due compensations were given to those persons whose lands were acquired for road purposes.⁵⁴

Besides the abovementioned inter-district and city roads (of course some of them were completed and the rest could not be), a large number of unmetalled kankar roads as well as Kachcha mud roads were constructed by Thomason's efforts. These roads were utilized by the people of the province for going from one place to the other.⁵⁵

Tangible Measures

It may also be noted that Thomason had laid down certain specific conditions for the construction of roads. According to his spe-

41. Home Public Proceedings, No. 4 of September 11, 1847; also Home Proceedings, No. 16 of September 4, 1841.

42. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 18 to 23 of March 11, 1848; also Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 10 to 13 of October 14, 1848.

43. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 26-27 of February 12, 1848.

44. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 1/2 of June 23, 1846.

45. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 101 of January 31, 1851; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 27 of February 4, 1851.

46. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 126/127 of June 2, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 22 of June 9, 1846.

47. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 54 to 57 of June 28, 1844.

48. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 46 of June 28, 1844; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 11 of August 6, 1844.

49. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 37-38 of March 30, 1844; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 4 of October 20, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 28 of September 15, 1848.

50. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 105/106 of September 10, 1846.

51. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 71 of August 24, 1847.

52. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 100 of July 20, 1847.

53. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 89 of June 12, 1849.

54. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 60 of May 7, 1844.

55. Letter from C. Allen to the Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, N.W.P., Agra, dated 22nd August, 1848; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 4247 of 1848, pp. 72-73.

cifications, roads for general traffic should be 30 feet broad flanked by a space of 40 feet on either side for slopes and berm. The excavations beyond this area were to be limited in depth to 2 feet. The full extent of land was to be set apart when the track to be laid down was to pass through waste land or through a region which was only under ordinary cultivation. But a relaxation of this rule was considered advisable if the land on the side of the road was occupied by houses, open or enclosed gardens of fruit or other trees, vegetable and tobacco fields and so on. In such cases exceptions were to be made and the unnecessary sacrifice of valuable property was to be avoided. Where the clearance of such land and its appropriation was found necessary, a special and fair monetary compensation was suggested to be made to the owner. This consideration was calculated at a higher rate than the one prescribed for the acquisition of land for an ordinary character. The transference of the land and its acquisition after the payment of the monetary consideration did not involve the transfer of the trees growing on it. Instead, they remained the property of the transferer to whom they belonged before the transaction of the deal. A separate bargain was to be made for them if the owner showed his inclination to dispose them off along with the land, or if the Executive Officer considered the removal or the retention of the trees absolutely indispensable. Similarly, buildings and walls attached to the land acquired for the purposes of the road construction were also made the subject of separate bargain. Any appurtenances like fences or ditches which had been removed or damaged by the Executive Officer were required to be repaired at the expense of the Government. A precise record of the land acquired by the Public Works Department for the purposes of the road was to be maintained, so that if any dispute were to arise in future, it could be settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. If the Executive Officer held the opinion that more land was necessary than had already been acquired, or if the Civil Officer was convinced that the compensation awarded to the owner was inadequate, such matters were to be referred to an ad-hoc committee. In the event of disagreement between the Executive and the Civil Officers on any point pertaining to the acquisition of the land or the payment of compensation, the Commissioner of the Division was empowered to arbitrate between them. In extreme cases, a reference was to be made to the Board or eventually to the Government. Compensation was to be paid for all the property which was either acquired, removed, damaged or destroyed in the process of construction work and the Civil Officer

was required to ensure that the payments were made expeditiously. He was also required to be extra-vigilant in making the demands for the land revenue and it was his unshiftable responsibility to ensure that no land revenue was levied or demanded in respect of the land which had been acquired by the Department previously.⁵⁶

The irresistible conclusion that one is bound to draw from the perusal of these elaborate rules is that Thomason was endowed with a rare faculty of perception and that no aspect or detail of the plan conceived by him could ever escape his argus-eyed attention.

An important achievement of Thomason in the field of road development and construction was the maintenance and constant supervision of the Grand Trunk Road which kept it in excellent condition during his times. He gave top priority to the repair and maintenance of the Grand Trunk Road. He was of the opinion that "the repairs of a road will depend not only on the nature of the sub-soil and the quality of the metal, but also on amount and nature of the traffic, and the accidents of the season. At the same time they admit of no delay. Supposing the road from any cause to have fallen out of repair so as to become unfitted for rapid travelling, the evil must be speedily remedied, whether its cost has or has not been previously estimated."⁵⁷ Thus Thomason fully realised the wisdom of the popular saying 'A stitch in time saves nine.'

Thomason had categorised two types of road repair works in his 'Draft of Special Rules' for the Repairs of the Grand Trunk Road in the North-Western Provinces from the Carumanasah (Karamnasa) to Delhi, and its branches.⁵⁸ There were ordinary repairs and extraordinary repairs. The ordinary repairs consisted of the renewal of metal and earth-work, and of petty repairs to masonry works. These, on an average, used to involve an expenditure of a certain sum per annum along each mile. This expenditure was to be sanctioned prospectively, and the money placed at the disposal of the Executive Officers from certain Treasuries. The ordinary repairs thus made were to be charged in monthly bills specifying the

56. Ibid., loc. cit.

57. Letter from J. Thornton to the Military Board, Fort William, dated the 10th March, 1847; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 211, p. 254; also 'Draft of Special Rules', vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 211, pp. 257-258.

58. 'Draft of Special Rules,' vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 211, pp. 257-258; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 17-18-19 of July 12, 1845.

amount of work done, and the rates of charge. The bills so drawn out were to be certified and signed by the Executive Engineer, and audited by the Military Board on the counter-signature of the Superintending Engineer.⁵⁹

Kunkar (pebbles), equal to half the year's contemplated expenditure was always to be kept stored by the roadside. In digging kunkar, and in taking earth for the repair of the roads, no damage was to be done to the crops, and the surface of the ground was to be smoothed and restored as nearly as possible to its former state, after it had once been disturbed. Bricks and materials for making lime were also to be kept stored where they were likely to be used.⁶⁰

In the second category, i.e., extraordinary repairs, came the reconstruction of bridges, embankments and other large works which were supposed liable to destruction by accidents of the weather or by decay. Repairs of this sort, involving an expenditure not exceeding 500 rupees on any one work, were to be made by Executive Engineers on their own responsibility, and charged on completion in a separate bill, and audited by the Military Board on the countersignature of the Superintending Engineer. Repairs of this type, involving an expenditure above 500 rupees, but not exceeding 2,000 were to be referred prior to their commencement to the Superintending Engineer, and on his approval were completed, and charged in a bill which would go for audit before the Military Board on his countersignature. The annual assignment for repairs placed at the disposal of the Executive Engineers was also to be calculated so as to cover extraordinary repairs of the above nature. Works, estimated to cost more than 2,000 rupees, were to be estimated for in the usual way, but no delay was to occur in the collection of materials, and in preparation for the reconstruction of the work. When extraordinary repairs were made, the best possible temporary roadway was to be made immediately and kept open till the work was completed.⁶¹

For carrying out the repair works of the Grand Trunk Road and its branches, Thomason had provided a separate establishment consisting of Overseers, Executive Engineers and a Superintendent.⁶²

59. Ibid., loc. cit.

60. Ibid., loc. cit.

61. Ibid., loc. cit.

62. Home Public Proceedings, No. 3 of July 11, 1846; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 99 of November 21, 1846.

The question of residence and the duties of these officers was also decided by Thomason in the 'Draft.' For the overseas, it was decided that they should reside in bungalows,⁶³ which will be erected by the road-side at convenient distances, and containing accommodation for the overseer, and one room for the occasional visits of the Executive Engineer. The overseer was to have charge of a certain extent of road on each side of his residence, and will keep up a certain establishment of workmen, greater or less as circumstances required, who would be charged as day-labourers against the ordinary repairs. His duty would be to see that these men were constantly employed in the repairs, so as not to close the road or materially to impede the passage of carriages, and he had to furnish daily (or weekly) accounts to the Executive Engineer of the number of men employed, the work done, and the payments made. He should always have under regular repair such a portion of the road under his charge as would suffice for the renewal of the whole metalling in time in which it will probably wear out, and he should make such petty repairs as may be found necessary in other parts of the road."⁶⁴

For the Executive Engineers it was laid down that they "should ordinarily reside at some convenient station near the centre of their divisions, but should frequently be moving along the road, examining the works of the overseers and seeing that their returns of men employed, work performed and money paid are correct. They should visit leisurely and by day-time, each part of their division at least twice in every two months (i.e., going and returning in each direction once in each month), and should be prepared to visit at any time any spot where the road is stated to have gone out of repair, or accident to have occurred. They should draw the assignments placed at their disposal at such times, and in such amounts as the Superintending Engineer may determine, but should never have in hand....* rupees. They should, themselves, form contracts for the supply of Kunkar, bricks, wood, etc., and should keep the

63. Small bungalows were erected at short distances for the shelter of the overseers, without which frequent visits and effectual control over the native workmen, during the severity of the hot and rainy seasons, would have been impossible. vide Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 16 to 22 of July 6, 1844; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 55.

64. 'Draft of Special Rules', op. cit., Vol. I, Document No. 211, p. 258.

*The amount has not been mentioned in the 'Draft.'

actual disbursement of money as much as possible in their own hands, providing, where payment must be made through others, for its immediate check. All ordinary repairs and extraordinary repairs, involving a cost not exceeding 2,000 rupees in each case, will be charged in monthly bills specifying the quantity and rates of the work. These bills must be credited on honour by the Executive Engineer; monthly accounts of materials in store must also be furnished to the Superintending Engineer showing their nature, the place where stored, and their value."⁶⁵

Regarding the third officer of the road repairs, namely the Superintending Engineer, Thomason had allocated the duties saying that he "should visit every part of the road at least twice in the year, and examine the works which have been constructed, or the repairs made since his last visit. He should satisfy himself of the efficiency of the control maintained by the Executive Engineers, and of the correctness of his returns of works performed and of materials in store. He should annually report on the state of the road and the works of his subordinates, comparing the modes of management pursued by each, and giving to all the benefit of his enlarged observation and matured experience."⁶⁶

Equally important duties in this field were those of the several Post Masters on the road, regarding whom Thomason had said that they "will report to the Executive Engineers any complaints which may be made to them regarding the state of the road. On receiving such report, the Executive Engineer will immediately ascertain the state of the case, either in person or through some well-qualified person. If the complaint is well-founded, he will make the requisite repair. If the complaint is altogether unfounded or malicious, he will draw up a statement showing this to be the case, and forward it to the Post Master, that the complaint may be suitably reprimanded or punished. Cases which fall between these extremes may be acknowledged and disregarded. Lengthened correspondence in such cases must be avoided. If the Post Master does not at once concur in the Executive Engineer's view, the matter should be immediately placed in the hands of the Superintending Engineer."

Apart from the above-mentioned set-up, Thomason had recom-

65. 'Draft of Special Rules,' op. cit., Vol. I, Document No. 211, pp. 259.

66. Ibid., loc. cit.

67. Ibid., pp. 259-260.

mended for the appointment of two additional Engineers of the Executive Engineer's rank for maintaining the efficiency of the Grand Trunk Road at a cost of Rs. 500 per mile.⁶⁸ This proposal was finally approved and two additional Executive Engineers, one of them was Lieutenant Wheeler, were entrusted the job on the Road in 1844.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that in the same year, i.e., 1844, the slopes of the Grand Trunk Road from Waragunge Ghat to Fatehpur were widened at a cost of approximately Rs. 10,644.⁷⁰ Another important proposal of Thomason for granting special allowances to all the overseers and engineers employed for the repair works of the Grand Trunk Road was also approved by the Military Board in 1845.⁷¹

In order to provide security on the highways, particularly on the Grand Trunk Road, Thomason "caused the watch and ward to be strengthened all along the line of roads, police stations to be placed at frequent intervals, and caravansarais and rest-houses to be built at suitable stages."⁷² Arrangements for the security of travellers' lives and properties were made on all Trunk Roads. On the Grand Trunk Road alone 1,547 policemen were posted between the Karamnasa river and Delhi to patrol in the night.⁷³ They were stationed every two miles at police posts.⁷⁴ One of Thomason's last acts in this sphere was to organize from the Ferry Funds (which he regarded as legitimately applicable to the guarding of the main roads), a large augmentation of the chowkidari force upon the Grand Trunk Road. Under this scheme a number of burkundaz and chowkidars were supposed to be always present at night on the road. Chowkees with accommodation for a jamadar, two sowars and several burkundaz, consisting of about six rooms and stabling for two horses, were erected at convenient posts. Writing about the duties of this protection and security staff Thornton observed: "It will be the duty of the Burkundauzes to afford protection to all travellers

68. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 19 to 23 of November 30, 1844.

69. Ibid.

70. Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 8 to 11 of May 11, 1844.

71. Home Public Proceedings, No. 8 of September 13, 1845.

72. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 174; also Home Public Proceedings No. 68, of March 17, 1849.

73. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, No. 41, p. 199.

74. Home Public Proceedings, No. 3, of July 11, 1846; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 3, of October 31, 1846; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 58/73, of March 20, 1849.

with merchandize or goods who may stay for the night at Puraos or other established halting places in their vicinity; but they must be strictly prohibited from compelling travellers to stop at any particular place, nor must they be allowed to make any charge for the protection they afford. Travellers who require separate chowkeedars for the protection of their baggage or tents at the established encamping grounds, will be furnished with them as a settled price by the officer of the Collector's establishment who is stationed on the spot. For such chowkeedars, the established fee must be always paid."⁷⁵ The despatch containing these detailed instructions regarding the chowkeedars, was printed and circulated.⁷⁶ Another important measure taken by Thomason on the Grand Trunk Road was regarding the system of punishment for crime. To provide easy access to justice, Thomason posted a number of Tahseeldars along the Grand Trunk Road at important points and gave them powers of Deputy Magistrates. Besides this, the Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of each district or an assistant vested with their powers was stationed at convenient places along the line.⁷⁷ One of the main duties of the Tahseeldars on the Grand Trunk Road was also to see that the supply of provisions was punctually ensured and that all coolies and hired chowkeedars received their proper wages. They were also supposed to exert themselves to prevent all exactions on the part of the chowkeedars and burkandazs, or other officials of Government, on the road, whether directed against residents in the vicinity, traders or travellers passing along the road. All instances of this nature were to be brought before the Collector or Magistrate by the Tahseeldars with their recommendation so that a proper notice of the offence was taken.⁷⁸

The Magistrate, apart from deciding the cases referred to him, was also to pay particular attention to the character of the police officers stationed along the road. He had also to visit the halting grounds, and the chowkies, sarais and other public buildings along

75. Notification from J. Thornton, Judicial Department, N.W. P., dated the 28th April, 1848, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1695; pp. 422-423.

76. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 53.

77. Letter from J. Thornton to the Commissioner of Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, dated the 25th March, 1847; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1430, p. 281; also Thornton's Notification (28th April, 1848), op. cit., p. 424.

78. Thornton's Notification (28th April, 1848), op. cit., p. 423.

the road as often as possible.⁷⁹ This system of Thomason proved effective in relieving and redressing the injured person then and there on the side of the road. But Thomason was not satisfied with what had been done as is clear from the new demands put forth by him: "It may also be desirable to vest with the powers of Deputy Magistrate, for the trial of offences against persons and property along the road, any other responsible officers who may be ordinarily stationed upon it, or accustomed to travel upon it, such as *Moonsiffs*, or persons in the customs department, or the Executive Engineers in charge of the road,"⁸⁰ demanded Thomason. But these could not be met. The measures enumerated above testify to the active interest taken by Thomason in making the Grand Trunk Road and other important Trunk Roads safer for travellers.

Another important step of Thomason in connection with the Grand Trunk Road was regarding the facilities for the accommodation and proper supply of the wants of troops or travellers. The encamping grounds for the accommodation of troops were set aside and marked off at convenient distances. Storehouses of wood and provisions were erected on the spot. In carrying out this scheme Thomason was greatly helped by Robert Montgomery and Lieutenant-Colonel Steel.⁸¹ One can have a better idea of Thomason's scheme on improvement in the proposed plan of encamping grounds from the following passage :

"These have been generally marked out along the road, but there is much reason to believe, that it will be found preferable to have the two encamping grounds, each of the prescribed size of 400 yards square, on the same side of the village instead of on opposite sides. The two encamping grounds should be adjoining to each other, so that all the arrangements for the supply of troops and travellers may be collected on the spot and permanently stored there. If this can be now effected without great inconvenience, it should be done..."⁸²

79. Ibid., p. 424; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 123/124, of October 14, 1851.

80. Letter from J. Thornton to the Commissioners of Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, dated the 25th March, 1847; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 1430, p. 282.

81. "Robert Montgomery has much of the credit of maturing the scheme, and Lieutenant-Colonel Steel, C.B. (one of the most willing of Thomason's working staff) has ably carried it out; but both needed the guiding hand of their master (Thomason)," vide Muir, W., op. cit., p. 54.

82. Notification of J. Thornton (28th April, 1848), op. cit., p. 420.

Thomason laid equally great stress on the sale of **Bardasht** articles just on the road side near the encamping grounds.⁸³ For storing those articles like charcol, earthenware vessels, wood, etc., he constructed **Bardasht Khanas** either on the camping ground itself, or in its immediate vicinity. These buildings consisted of an enclosure where the **Bardasht** articles were stored with a few **Banniah's** shops attached outside it. The Government had also provided advances to the **Banniahs** and others to make this scheme a success. Thornton has provided a list of such advances given on good security to **Banniahs** and other contractors. The list runs :⁸⁴

Apart from these advances, the contractors⁸⁵ were given the warehouse room and shops rent-free in the **Bardasht Khanas**, but they were to have no other privileges or monopoly. They were bound under sufficient penalty to furnish all applicants at the current market price of the day. Detachments of troops or parties of travellers were ordered to be supplied in retail, but whenever regimental or other **Bazars** were attached to a camp, the supply was to be made wholesale to the persons appointed to receive them. The contractors of these **Bardasht Khanas** were provided certificates in English and Urdu by the Collectors setting forth the obligations under which they lied, and the protection to which they were entitled. The price of all articles of fixed value was also specified in those certificates. The current price list was supplied to the Com-

83. The cost of each **Bardasht Khana** was calculated at Rs. 200, vide *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

84. Bunneah	..	..	Rs. 200
Firewood and Bhoosa	..	..	Rs. 150
Milkman	..	..	Rs. 40
Fowls and Eggs	..	..	Rs. 25
Kurbee	..	..	Rs. 35
Grass and Straw	..	..	Rs. 20
Hulwaye	..	..	Rs. 10
Shepherd	..	..	Rs. 25
Oilman	..	..	Rs. 25
Coomar for pots	..	..	Rs. 10
Chowdree for supplying bearers, coolies, and carriages, to a fixed moderate amount			Rs. 50
Chebenee	..	..	Rs. 25
			<hr/>
			Rs. 645
			<hr/>

Ibid., loc. cit.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

manding Officer of a Regiment in duplicate. He used to counter-sign one and send it to the Collector for information. This arrangement as a whole was put under the charge of the Revenue Officer whose duty was to see that the abovementioned provisions were complied with. He was also supposed to communicate instantly to the notice of the Commanding Officer of a Regiment complaint that used to be made by the contractors of any injury they happened to receive from the sepoys or camp followers. These representations were made either verbally or in writing and the Collector was also informed about them. In case the Collector or Magistrate used to receive a well-supported complaint against an officer of the army, or detachment of Troops, he used to send that information immediately to the General Officer-Commanding of the Division. A copy of this representation was also sent to the Commissioner of the Division by the Magistrate. After such a long process the judgment was given by the Officer Commanding.⁸⁶ An important aspect of the matter was that the Revenue Officer acted as a liaison between the contractors and the government.

Apart from the encamping grounds on the Grand Trunk Road, Thomason also encouraged the erection of sarais or places of accommodation for travellers by the zamindars, bhutthiarahs and other individuals at their own cost either with a view to profit or as a charitable act.⁸⁷ For the protection of these sarais and the travellers who stayed there, Thomason took some important measures, just as each one of them were to have a barkandaz and two chowkedars for night patrolling.⁸⁸ Apart from this the police constables were also posted for watching those sarais, but they were strictly prohibited from interfering into any other affairs of sarais. "Their watch should be," writes Thornton, "kept outside the buildings, and they should never enter them in the official capacity, unless to repress evident breaches of the places, or otherwise in the regular execution of their duty."⁸⁹ They were also strictly prohibited from levying any dues from travellers who put up in the sarais, or from compelling them to stay at a particular place.⁹⁰

86. Ibid., loc. cit.

87. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 40 of October 6, 1843. Thornton's Notification (28th April, 1848), op. cit., pp. 422-423.

89. Ibid., loc. cit.

90. Ibid., loc. cit.

Another important achievement of Thomason in connection with the Grand Trunk Road was the planting of groves and digging of wells for the convenience and comfort of the travellers. He was opposed to the formation of an avenue of trees along the side of the road. He believed that the avenue of trees "is more to please the eye than to afford substantial benefit. If it protects the travellers from the sun and wards off heat by day, it also impedes the free circulation of the air, and retains heat by night. It obstructs the free view along the road and affords facilities for the commission of those crimes which are found to be greatly checked by the formation of straight and open roads. It involves a very heavy expense in watering and watching the young trees; and these trees, when of considerable growth, are liable to be destroyed by animals, or to be prostrated by a storm. Their maintenance as well as their first rearing will be a constant cause of expense. The planting of groves and digging of wells at regular distances is more advantageous to travellers, than the formation of an avenue."⁹¹ But he wanted that this scheme of groves and wells should be left to private munificence, because the "heavy charge on the Government for the maintenance of the road does not need to be increased by the execution of a work, which can be more economically and advantageously performed by individuals."⁹² Thus the interest that the Lieutenant-Governor, Thomason, took in the field of road construction, repairs, facilities for the travellers, etc., is indeed worthy of recognition. The elaborate and masterly arrangements made by him for the repair and upkeep of the Grand Trunk Road showed that he was fully conscious of the important role played by this road link in the defence and commercial development of the country.

He took an equally keen interest in the construction and repair of bridges and extending the railway line throughout the provinces. Some of the important bridges constructed and repaired during this time were in Farrukhabad⁹³ and Agra.⁹⁴ The Lodipur Bridge in Delhi was dismantled due to its utterly bad condition, and was substituted by a Bridge of Boats at a cost of Rs. 4,348-6-8 in

91. Letter from J. Thornton to the Military Board, dated the 10th March, 1847, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 211, p. 256.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

93. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 25/26, of February 23, 1844.

94. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 1-2, of January 2, 1846; also Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 44 to 48, April 29, 1848.

1847.⁹⁵ He also proposed for the construction of a metalled bridge between Simla and Mussoorie, but it did not materialise.⁹⁶ He also suggested the higher authorities that since the whole province right from Allahabad up to Delhi offered no engineering difficulty,⁹⁷ the railway lines as compared to the other provinces could be laid out quite easily and at lesser cost. He had personally talked over this matter with Major W. E. Baker, the Consulting Engineer to the Government for Railways, who also believed that it was high and fitting time for taking into consideration the measures necessary for the extension of the East Indian Railway⁹⁸ through these provinces. Since the officers of the Ganga Canal were busy laying out the principal and the subsidiary lines of channels throughout the Doab, Thomason made a strong plea for taking up the question of railways soon by suggesting that the officers for the two works should conduct their operations together which would result in mutually facilitating each other's proceedings and help in saving unnecessary expense to the State. He also suggested two alternative routes which could be followed by the railway in the provinces and both of them were along the banks of the two notable rivers—the Ganga and the Jamuna—where the prominent commercial marts of the province were situated; "on the Ganges are Cawnpore and Farrukhabad, and on the Jumna are Calpee, Agra, Muttra and Delhi. It is evident, therefore, that commercially and politically considered, the Jumna side of the Doab has the preponderance..."⁹⁹

The Supreme Government was also informed by Thomason that there were two lines from Allahabad to Delhi—one the old Mogul line along the Jamuna, crossing the river at Agra, and then pro-

95. Home Public Proceedings, No. 5 of April 3, 1847; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 4 of May 1, 1847.

96. Home Public Consultations, No. 1 of February 10, 1849.

97. "The surface is perfectly level, free from liability to inundation of any importance, and intersected by no great rivers which there will be difficulty in crossing, for even the Jumna may be easily bridged at no great expense." vide Letter from Muir, W., to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 2nd February, 1853; No. 84 A, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 70, pp. 277-278.

98. Ibid., p. 277; also Huddleston, History of the East Indian Railway, p. 2.

99. Thomason believed that though Kanpur had then lost much of its former consequences, and even Farrukhabad was less flourishing that it was, yet he thought that it must always be of importance as one of the great outlets for produce from rich province of Rohilkund. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 79, p. 278.

ceeding up to the right bank to Delhi; and the other that of the Grand Trunk Road which continued along the Ganges to Kanpur, and then gradually crossed the Doab till it reached the bank of the Jamuna immediately opposite to Delhi. The Mogul line passed through Agra and Mathura and the latter passed through no place of any importance except Kanpur. So far as Engineering works were concerned, the passage of the Jamuna was easier at Agra than at Delhi, and the difficulties in the former near Moosanagar where the Seynhoor joined the Jamuna, was supposed to be easily avoided than those on the latter which was sure to be encountered in crossing the valley of Hindun. The line from Agra to Delhi was peculiarly easy, with great command of stone, and in immediate vicinity of the Jamuna, along which during a great part of the year stores of all kinds were easily brought by water within a few miles of the line. The difference in distance in the two roads was also small. It was 339 miles, while along the Grand Trunk Road the distance was 311 miles.¹⁰⁰

Thomason wanted to extend the line further east so that the fertile districts in Rohilkhand and the Upper Doab would be better opened. One important suggestion of Thomason was that in order "to meet all the commercial and agricultural wants of the country, it will be necessary, where the main line runs, to have other divergent lines at right angles to it."¹⁰¹ On receiving these suggestions and information, the Government of India decided to have a survey of the routes and see as to which of them was more suitable for a railway line. These schemes and surveys during Thomason's regime proved of great help to Dalhousie and the railway line between Calcutta and Allahabad was completed in 1845.¹⁰² Thus communication became easier when the province was intersected by a number of roads during Thomason's time and it became very quick with the introduction of the railways after him. Thus the credit of the spade work necessary for construction of railways goes to Thomason.

Besides encouraging trade and facilitating commerce the roads constructed during the time of Thomason also greatly helped in properly managing the postal system. In the early days of the

100. Ibid., loc. cit.

101. Ibid., p. 279.

102. The result of this railway line was that during that year the revenue from traffic on the line from Calcutta to Allahabad amounted to £96,100-10-2, vide Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., p. 331.

Company's rule in the North-Western Provinces, it took the mails a long time to be carried from one place to another. For example, in 1835, "the time occupied by mails from Bombay to Agra.... was 10 days and 12 hours,"¹⁰³ whereas in April 1837 the same distance was covered in 7 days and 12½ hours by using straight postal routes and by introducing the contract system for the conveyance of the mails.¹⁰⁴ In 1851 during Thomason's time when communications became easier, the mail took only four days' travel from Calcutta to Patna.¹⁰⁵ Understanding the need and urgency of the mails, Thomason had introduced mail carts on the road between Meerut and Khurja in the Bulandshahr district as early as 1845.¹⁰⁶

As A Humanist

Apart from the abovementioned plans and achievements of Thomason in the field of public works, the careful handling of labour problem by him has got its own place and importance. Over this matter he came in direct clash with the Military Board which had issued an order for the employment of labour on Sundays with extra wages.¹⁰⁷ Thomason was completely against this practice and so he gave his full support to the Bombay Government which had taken the lead in prohibiting the prosecution of public works on Sundays. Not only this, he further suggested payment of wages to the labour for all seven days in the week with Sunday as a rest day. Citing an instance in this connection he says, "It was difficult to procure workmen at the Gharra Ghaut, and it was found necessary to raise the price of labour 50 per cent in order to procure workmen, and even then the assistance of the Native Chiefs was necessary in order to ensure their attendance. The rule of the Bombay Government against Sunday labour is enforced, and, as a necessary consequence, the labourers assembled at the Ghaut are paid for seven days, though they only labour for six. The effect of this is effected to be most satisfactory, as the labourers and artificers attend much

103. J. Southerland to Scott on May 26, 1837; vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 22, of June 28, 1837.

104. Ibid.

105. Good Old Days of John Company. Vol. II, p. 89.

106. Bushby to Thornton, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 45, of October 18, 1845.

107. Letter from Thornton to the Military Board, dated 18th April, 1846, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 7, pp. 14-15; also Home Public Proceedings Nos. 16-17, of August 22, 1846.

more regularly to their work on weekdays than had hitherto been the case. Now it is unnecessary to require strict proof that these workmen do as much in six days as they before did in seven, though it is far from improbable."¹⁰⁸ Thomason also criticised those Executive Officers whose object was to get labourers for work on Sundays. "It was immaterial whether he (Executive Officer) induced them to come by raising their wages, or by exempting them from labour for part of the time of their attendance. He did raise their wages 50 per cent, and found them still reluctant to attend."¹⁰⁹ But if he dispensed with the Sunday labour, it was found that the labourers "not only attended more readily and regularly, but did their work with greater cheerfulness."¹¹⁰ Thus according to Thomason, the exemption from labour on Sundays was a must because whereas on the one hand it would be economical, on the other, it was bound to add to the efficiency of the labourer after enjoying one day rest.¹¹¹ By economical it does not mean that Thomason did not want to give them higher wages, but what he wanted was that "enhancement of wages is evidently necessary, whether work be required on six days or on seven, but it is better that this enhancement be shown by a simple increase on the rate of six days labour, than by any increase on the seven days and exemption of work on one day."¹¹² Thus Thomason made a scathing criticism of the Military Board and suggested in strong terms that in the introduction of any change of this sort, every effort must be made to avoid compulsion in procuring labour. He also severely condemned all those public officials who procured labour through compulsion. Thomason was well aware of the exploitation of labour. Part of the pay, which should have reached the workmen, was appropriated by the Officer's own servants and by the police; bad workmen were em-

108. Letter from Thornton to the Military Board, dated 18th April, 1846. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 7, pp. 14-15.

109. Ibid., p. 15.

110. Ibid., loc. cit.

111. "Had he made public at first this rule of exemption from labour on Sundays, it is evident that it would have been unnecessary to have raised wages 50 per cent in order to procure labourers, though it is very possible that both the 50 per cent, and the seventh day's exemption would have been necessary to procure the full labour, which a contented and cheerful workman can render during six days." vide Ibid., loc. cit.

112. Ibid., loc. cit.

ployed, whose imperfect services were sullenly rendered, and withheld as soon as a plausible pretext could be found. It was highly troublesome to deal with reluctant workmen, and they proved to be far more expensive to engage the workmen who came to work willingly under free competition.¹¹³

This sympathetic attitude of Thomason towards the labourers reveals his great human qualities which served him in completing his schemes harmoniously with good speed and efficiency. Thomason's deeply humanistic concern in the welfare of construction workers marked him out as a noble exception in the otherwise callously exploitative colonial administration. In his solicitous attitude towards native labour, Thomason was far ahead of his times even from the standards of the metropolitan country. It may be recalled that the conditions of work for the British workers were themselves appalling in the first half of the 19th century and continued to be so much later until the close of the century.

CHAPTER VI

The Message of Peace

In the administrative set up of any province or State, the two most important and responsible agencies for maintaining law and order are a strong police force and an independent judiciary. Without these no administration can run successfully. Thomason too, a shrewd administrator as he was, realised their importance and tried to improve upon the then existing set up for preserving law and order.

The Early Position

Lawlessness prevailed in the Upper Provinces (later known as the North-Western Provinces) for a long period after their annexation, and several years passed before insurgents ceased to disturb the Doab, the tract lying between the Ganga and Jamuna. The Pindaris were troublesome; the crime of *thagi* was rife; and robbers were operating on the trade routes. As late as 1817, the fortress of Hathras in the Doab had to be reduced by siege.¹ Gang robbery was prevalent about Saharanpur,² while marauders from Central India infested the south-western frontiers. (By 1830, however, peace was established to a certain degree.³ During this period, and indeed for many years later, the district police system was the legacy of the old days when the maintenance of order in rural tracts was the responsibility of in-

1. Daya Ram, a zamindar of Hathras created disturbances in his estate in the Doab and did not submit to the authority of the Company for a long time. When revenue was demanded from him, he broke into rebellion and after some fighting escaped in 1817. The Hathras fortress was reduced by siege in 1817 and annexed to the Company's dominion. vide Beveridge, H., op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, (1908), p. 31.

3. Administration Report, United Provinces, 1911-12, p. 11.

fluent local land-holders and village communities, while in large towns it rested on the *kotwal*, a government officer who was in receipt of a substantial salary with perquisites, and who also provided his own staff.¹ Soon after, the work of the police was entrusted to the District Magistrate who was assisted by Indian police officer, termed *darogha* with a small force of armed men.² This system was introduced in due course in the North-Western Provinces, though there the local responsibility of land-holders was maintained. Thus the Magistrate-Collector was the pivot of the police set-up evolved to maintain law and order in the North-Western Provinces during Thomason's regime. He was one of the most overworked officers of the Government looking after the collection of land revenue and other taxes, the chief judicial officer in some cases and also the chief of the police in his jurisdiction. Throughout the regime of Thomason, there was no separate head of the police and so the Magistrate-Collector had to keep on doing that job.³

The Tightening of Measures

In the early years of Thomason's regime the Magistrate-Collector for carrying out police administration, was assisted by a number of *Tahseeldars* who were revenue officials as well as the police officials. The police affairs in their *tahseels* were attended to "by them."⁴ Regarding their duties, Thomason has observed thus: "The *Tahseel-*

4. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 382-386; Moral and Material Progress Report 1882-83, p. 78; Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1903, Chapter I, pp. 4-5.

5. Bengal Reg. I of 1793, VIII (4), and XXVII of 1795, V(4); also Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 382-386; also Moral and Material Progress Report 1882-83, loc. cit.

6. Right up to the Revolt of 1857-58, the Magistrate-Collector went on exercising power and undertaking duties which, subject to his general supervision and direction, were later on delegated to his subordinate. vide Campbell, *Memoirs of my Indian Career*, Vol. I, p. 156.

7. The *Tahseeldars* were invested with police powers under Regulation X, 1831. Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions dated the 22nd May, 1845; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 24; Judicial Department, p. 169; also see "There were normally 219 *Tahseeldars* in the thirty-one districts of the Province and their salary ranged between one hundred to three hundred rupees per month." vide Thomason's Minute on Police, dated the 22nd May, 1845; Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 13, of September 20, 1845.

dars have, in many districts, been invested with the power of **Darogha** and from their known respectability and character, have imparted a new stamp of credit and confidence to the police proceedings."⁸ They had the power to arrest and imprison for a brief period any suspected or accused person. Not only this, they were also, if empowered by the Magistrate, permitted to try petty cases and punish by imposing small fines. They were supposed to keep the Magistrate informed regarding the problem of crime and law and order situation. Thus these **Tahseeldars** used to be of great help to the Magistrates in the field of police administration.⁹ Thomason was of the opinion that "Good Government will be best secured by placing **Thaseeldars** and **Daroghas** under a good Magistrate and Collector, and Magistrates and Collectors under good Commissioners, rather than by setting the **Darogha** to check the **Tahseeldar**, and the Magistrate the Collector."¹⁰ This shows Thomason's realization of the important role played by the police hierarchy and his enthusiasm to retain its importance.

The **Tahseeldar** was assisted by his **Naib**, then known as 'Deputy **Tahseeldar**,' and also a police **Thanadar**.¹¹ The **Thanadar** was the main figure in the field of police administration who had a variety of duties to perform. He was in charge of police **thanas**. The general supervision over these **thanas**, which numbered sometimes more than one in a **tahseel**, was that of the **Tahseeldars**. The **thanas** scattered throughout the district, in stations probably ten or fifteen miles apart and a **Thanadar** was incharge of only one of them.¹² The limited area of jurisdiction under the **Thanadars** was demarcated with the sole purpose of ensuring efficiency and quick disposal. This official, important as he was, had also to work under great strain as the work in his hands was too unwieldy, especially when he could not expect any relief from the **Tahseeldar** who himself was groaning

8. "A good **Tahseeldar** is the most useful person for a Magistrate," vide Raikes, op. cit., pp. 219-220; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 505.

9. Raikes, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

10. Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, (22nd May, 1845), op. cit.; also Home Judicial Proceedings No. 13 of September 20, 1845.

11. Raikes, Notes on the North-Western Provinces of India, pp. 219-220.

12. For details see the article on 'Police in the North-Western Provinces of India' by A District Superintendent, in The Army and Navy Magazine, London, Vol. VII, November, 1833.

under the heavy weight of work entrusted to him.¹³ Apart from his police duties at the *thana*, the *Thanadar* was also to act as a judicial assistant and adviser to District Magistrate. He was empowered by the District Magistrate to arrest any suspected men and before sending the person or parties to the headquarters of his district, hold a preliminary trial.¹⁴ The range of salary for these *Thanadars* was between Rs. 25 and Rs. 55 per month.¹⁵

(There were two other small officers in the police organization of the province at that time namely the *Jamadar* (who was the assistant to the *Thanadar*) and a *Moharrir* or a scribe attached with the *thana*. Their salaries were fixed between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 per month.¹⁶ At the disposal of these officers were placed the services of a number of constables, known as *Barkandazes*. They were given Rs. 4 as their monthly salary.¹⁷ But the village *Chaukidar* or watchman, forming the lowest rung in the police structure, was an equally important person in maintaining peace and harmony in the rural areas and helping the provincial police officers in rounding up village criminals and bad characters. These *Chaukidars* were recruited from the village community. They rendered useful service to their community. Muir writes that, "The *Chowkidar* (Watchman) must belong to the village community; he must be the servant of the *Zamindars*; salary paid in cash direct from Government, would loosen the *Zamindar's* hold upon him; while a close surveillance of his proceedings would interfere with the independent action of the village institution."¹⁸ This shows that the *chaukidars* and their landlords were really of very great help to the Government in carrying out the police administration of the province.¹⁹ This set up of police administra-

13. He was a thief-catcher, a prosecutor, and the Judge.) vide Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., p. 264.

14. Ibid., loc. cit.; also see ("Thanadar's promotion depended upon his professional success and so he was directly interested in proving that the persons he had arrested were the actual criminals and culprits.") vide Army and Navy Magazine, Vol. VII, Nov. 1833.

15. Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., p. 263.

16. Ibid., loc. cit.

17. Notification from Thornton (28th April, 1848), op. cit., pp. 422-423; also Home Public Proceedings, Nos. 31 to 35 of April 27, 1844.

18. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 49 to 65, of June 27, 1845; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 47/48 of October 22, 1847; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 504.

19. A District Officer has rightly remarked that "the police without their (village landlords) aid can do very little." vide Raikes, op. cit., pp. 222-224.

tion was at work only in small cities and rural areas.) In large cities there used to be **Kotwals**, but they were inferior in status and drew lesser emoluments in comparison to their counterparts (**Tahseeldars**) in the countryside. Thomason did not approve of this and recommended in his Minute that "the **Cotwals** of large cities should have high salaries and be put in every respect on an equality with **Tahseeldars**."²⁰ His proposal in regard to their salaries in the principal towns was as follows:²¹

This system of police administration was neither efficient nor sound and Thomason particularly was very much against it. Pointing out some of the glaring anomalies in this set up he remarked, "It may be thought dangerous to give so much power to one individual (**Tahseeldar** or **Thanadar**). It is no doubt dangerous to give much power to any individual without proper control. But in a country governed as this is in fact a strong despotism, where all the security of good Government exists, not in the influence of the governed, but in a distant controlling superintendence,—the provision against misgovernment should be sought in the control of a superior over a subordinate, and not in the clashing of two co-ordinate authorities....It is necessary to avoid in this country the clashing of co-ordinate authorities. Disputes arise upon mere trifles, and the passions of well-intentioned men are inflamed by intriguing subordinates. The public interests are often damaged by the controversies of two intemperate but dishonest officers. This is most likely to

20. Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 21, of April 12. 1814; also Thomason's Minute on Police Battalion, Judicial Department, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, Document No. 24, p. 169.

21.		Present	Proposed
Delhi	..	Rs. 100	Rs. 200
Benares	..	Rs. 100	Rs. 200
Bareilly	..	Rs. 125	Rs. 125
Agra	..	Rs. 100	Rs. 100
Allahabad	..	Rs. 60	Rs. 100
Moradabad	..	Rs. 80	Rs. 100
Cawnpore	..	Rs. 70	Rs. 100
Meerut	..	Rs. 80	Rs. 100
Ghazeepore	..	Rs. 30	Rs. 100
Jaunpore	..	Rs. 40	Rs. 100
Mirzapore	..	Rs. 40	Rs. 100
Farrukhabad	..	Rs. 100	Rs. 100
Total	..	Rs. 925	Rs. 1,425

Thomason's Minute on Police Battalion, op. cit., p. 169.

occur where both officers possess extensive powers and large establishments, and the necessity of avoiding it forms a strong argument for vesting the powers of Magistrate and Collector in the person, and also for giving the *Tahseeldar's* Police powers.²² In making such an observation Thomason was perfectly correct because of the imperative need of maintaining uniformity in the extent of powers granted to the police heads in the countryside and the big towns and of reducing to the minimum the chances of friction resulting in administrative inefficiency among the various components of the police structure area. We also find William Muir giving expression to similar feelings when he says that conferment of excessive magisterial powers on *Tahseeldars* and *Thanadars* "has probably been too indiscriminate, and without a sufficient guarantee of character, or of the knowledge required for the discharge of such grave functions affecting everywhere the social body."²³ He was also against the addition of newer functions to a particular post which did not result in any increment of emoluments. As there did not exist any prospect of increment in salary in spite of one's great devotion to one's office, it was felt by Muir that "the service thus loses at once the stimulus to exertion and the salutary dread to loss and degradation."²⁴ He also held the view that a test of efficiency which is necessary in the case of Covenanted Assistants should also be applied on *Tahseeldars*, *Thanadars* and *Jamadars*.²⁵

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169; also during this period (1813-53) the *Tahseeldar* had almost the same duties as the *Darogha* of the former days. (There were normally 219 *Tahseeldars* in the 31 districts of the province during Thomason's period of office. vide for details Thomason's Minute on Police, dated May 22, 1815; also Home Judicial Proceedings, Vol. 13 of September 20, 1815; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 505; also Raikes, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220). He also advised the Magistrate in important matters relating to his *tahseel*. Since there was no regular police organization till then in the provinces, the *Tahseeldar* was to supervise the loose police set up which consisted of *Thanadars*, *Jamadars* and *Mohurrirs*. (The regular police was started in the provinces under Act of 1861 on the model of the Irish Constabulary. vide Imperial Gazetteer, No. 1, p. 128. Till the emergence of the Police Battalions in the provinces and even after that too up to 1853, the *Tahseeldar* kept on retaining the police powers under Regulation XI, 1831. Thomason always stood for this although from time to time he tried to lessen their police duties only because of the heavy nature of revenue duties they had to perform.

23. Muir, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

24. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

25. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

Besides the abovementioned observations Thomason had one more recommendation to make, i.e., "a distribution of functions and of salaries effected, so as to decrease the number but raise the salaries."²⁶ In his Minute he has tried to justify his opinion in a six-fold manner :

First. The pay of the Mofussil Police may be increased, their numbers being diminished.

Second. The Tahseeldars should be generally invested with Police powers, under Regulation XI, 1831.

Third. Great attention should be paid to improve the rural Police by holding the zamindars to their responsibilities, and by obtaining their aid.

Fourth. The Police Battalions should be fixed one in each Division and kept a good deal together, being employed to guard Jails, Treasuries, etc., and to relieve the regular troops from civil duties. Whereas in Bundelcund, the numbers will admit of it, a small body of men under a respectable officer should be kept at each Tahseeldaree to protect it, and to be at the disposal of the Tahseeldar to send out on any emergency, where vigorous action may be required. Under such an arrangement the Thanah force may be reduced below what it would otherwise be.

Fifth. To increase the emoluments, and raise the position of the higher Police officers in large towns.

Sixth. To vest either the Tahseeldars or Moonsiffs gradually with powers as Assistant Magistrates to enable them to try petty cases, or to prepare heavier ones in the Mofussil without sending the parties into the Magistrate.

Strengthening of the Police Force

But while all these suggestions were being made, there took place an important development in the field of police administration in the North-Western Provinces in 1844. A Special Police Battalion was raised and posted on the frontier of Awadh for the preservation of law and order.²⁷ The reason why this Police organiza-

²⁶. Thomason's Minute on the Police Battalion, op. cit., p. 176.

²⁷. This Special Police Battalion was divided into two—the eastern frontier police and the north-western frontier police. The Magistrates of districts adjacent to the Awadh and Gwalior were re-
(Contd. on next page)

tion was first posted on the Awadh frontier was to curb the activities of the robbers infesting large areas there.* This Police Battalion system, which, in fact, was military police employed for civil duties, was soon introduced throughout the North-Western Provinces and by May, 1845, its strength was recorded as follows : *

(District	Description of Police Corps.	No. of Officers
1. Banda and Hamirpur	1st and 2nd Battalion Military Police	69
2. Agra, Mainpuri and Farruckabad	Agra Police Battalion	24
3. Meerut, Bulandshahr, and Muzaffarnagar	Meerut Police Battalion	24
4. Delhi, Sirsa, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hissar	Delhi Police Battalion	24
5. Ambala and Saharanpur	Ambala Police Battalion	24
6. Bareilly and Badaun	Bareilly Police Battalion	23)

(This police system replaced the old one with the common feature—that the responsibility of the Magistrate-Collector remained unhampered in both. All the Magistrates of districts adjacent to the Awadh and Gwalior frontier were required to co-operate with this special police.** The newly introduced set up too was deprecated by Thomason in the following words: "Organized as they have been against my opinion, with some pre-conceived bias, of which

(Contd. from previous page)

quired to co-operate with this special police. vide Shakespeare to Bushby of July 19, 1845, No. 1286, vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 30 of August 9, 1845; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 10, of November 10, 1843; also Thornton to Elliot, No. 193 A of May 27, 1847; vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 15 of February 27, 1837; also Foreign Consultations, Nos. 14-22 of November 9, 1844.)

28. Vide Supra Chapter II, S.V. The North-Western Provinces Before Thomason; also Minute of Alexander Ross, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 15 of February 27, 1837; also see Robinson, the Commissioner of Agra, had reported that the Awadh territory offered complete immunity to our proclaimed offenders who all throng thither." vide Thornton to Elliot, No. 193 A, of May 27, 1847; vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 6 of October 23, 1847.

*Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 6 of October 23, 1847.

29. Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 15 of February 27, 1847.

it is impossible wholly to divest my mind."³⁰ He was against the innovations mainly because he felt that there was a marked improvement in the habits and character of the people in the North-Western Provinces, that they were no longer the plundering and marauding people that they used to be in the past, that the law and order situation had comparatively eased and that, therefore, there was no need of the exclusively armed military police in this province. What appeared to him to be of greater importance was "to raise the respectability of the police and to draft into them men of higher intellectual and moral qualities rather than to strengthen their organization."³¹ He wanted the police to be composed of men fewer in number but of higher intellect and better able to resist pecuniary temptations.³² He wanted to introduce economy and efficiency in his proposed reorganization of the police system in the province. It can easily be said there was much weight in Thomason's criticism. It was high time to depart from the old practice exclusively depending upon brute force and liberalize the police force by introducing in it men of intellect and enlightenment. The actual picture of his plan was to retain subordinate police by introducing certain improvements in their conditions which was possible only if their pay scale was revised, the men carefully selected, well instructed in their duties, encouraged by the hope of rapid promotion, placed under the immediate control of a separate European Officer, whose sole duty it should be to instruct them, to reward the deserving and to punish the refractory.³³ In his emphasis on the recruitment of only European Officers to supervise the activities of the police, Thomason has betrayed his anxiety to keep the police force exclusively under European control probably because he was yet to be convinced of the desirability of the rapid Indianization of such a vital part of administration as the police force. Thomason wanted the best men of the old police to be selected with reference to their antecedents, experience and qualifications; they should have been drilled to act together in crowds as the London Police force; and should be armed with weapons more suitable to the peaceful character of the ordinary citizens than a mus-

30. Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, op. cit., p. 170; also Shakespeare to Bushby, No. 1286 of July 19, 1845. vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 30 of August 9, 1845.

31. Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, op. cit., p. 165; also Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 13 of September 20, 1845.

32. Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, op. cit., p. 165.

33. Thomason's letter to R. Lowther, dated the 18th November, 1851; Judicial Department No. 50. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 4059 of 1851, p. 207.

ket and bayonet.³⁴ His suggestion was "to accelerate promotion in the native army, and throw off from it the least deserving men, provided, of course, they were not notorious, by enrolling them in Police Battalions. It may be most wise to relieve the regular army from the vexatious and harassing civil duties, which wasted their strength and injured their discipline."³⁵ This process, Thomason thought, would be economical to provide for the performance of these duties by a less expensive force than the regular army. Another objection by Thomason to the process of recruitment from the army to the police department was the unnecessary stress on drill.³⁶ Under such conditions the Commanding Officers could have acted in no other way than to choose men for their aptitude for drill than for their capacities for police duties. He wanted to introduce integrity, efficiency and economy in the proposed set up of the police force on one hand and to increase the military strength of the Government on the other. The Commanding Officers were not given to select from the men under their command those who were the best educated, the most intelligent or the best conducted. Such men were valued in the regiment as the latter offered better chances of promotion; they were most disciplined to leave it. It was, therefore, natural that the police battalions were left to recruit only the most inferior staff in their ranks; any one in the regiment was good enough for them. Thomason cited a number of instances in this connection to show how difficult it was to retain efficient men of the army in the police administration. At one place he says that, "The Magistrate of Agra got some good men from the regiments as drill instructors. He wished to retain them, and the men professed willingness to stay, but they were too good to be spared, and others were sent in their room as volunteers to the Battalion. The Commandant of the Bundelkhand Battalions remonstrated with the Commanding Officer of the 70th Regiment Native Infantry regarding a man who was sent to him as a **Jamadar**, and was told in reply that "his qualifications in regard to intelligence, etc., did not justify his recommendation for a commission in his own regiment."³⁷ He cites the case of Mr. Jackson, the Magistrate of

34. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

35. Ibid., p. 171.

36. The Commanding Officers "were told that in four months the men were wanted for service, and must in that time have completed their drill." vide Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, op. cit., p. 171.

37. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 171.

Agra, who was entrusted with the task of organizing the battalion there. Mr. Jackson effected a number of improvements in the police by reducing their numbers, giving them higher salary, making them act together and enforcing among them a high standard of discipline and morality. The over-all result of his efforts was the transformation of the police force into a virtual military force. At last the corps was placed under the command of a military officer, Major Steel. Though the men of this battalion were employed in the police of the town and taken good care of, it was found very difficult for the Magistrate to make his authority felt by them. By their sheer military character they did not appear to be the police force under the Magistrate. Soon the Magistrate was compelled to opt for the former system.³⁸

(Similarly, the Delhi Battalion, charged with keeping control over a large population, had to share the same fate. The major portion of this battalion was made available for police duties in the town. The Commanding Officer who used to live out of the town, was also asked to shift his residence in the vicinity of his lines within the town walls. Then the Magistrate, Mr. J. L. M. Lawrence, was a most intelligent and zealous officer, and he had taken every possible precaution for the safety and security of the town. But it was still realised that the protection of fortified cities and arsenals was not the duty of the police, but of the army.³⁹

The Karnal Battalion too was in an unsatisfactory state. Prone to sickness, it was reduced to a very ineffective unit. It was transferred to Bareilly and had only furnished guards for the Treasuries, Jails and *Tahseeldars*.⁴⁰

In the protected Sikh States an attempt was also made to employ the men of the Battalion in small guards to strengthen the police posts. But it did not add to its strength in any appreciable measure. The men of the Battalion and the ordinary police were disagreeable to each other. At the request of the August, as well as to meet the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, they were recalled from the detached posts and were employed in relieving the regular troops from the charge of Treasuries, Jails, etc.⁴¹

Thomason in his Minute discussed the position of Police Bat-

38. Ibid., p. 17.

39. Ibid., pp. 172-173.

40. Ibid., loc. cit.

41. Ibid., loc. cit.

talions, specially in Bundelkhand, emphasising more on the Banda and Hamirpur districts.⁴² Their employment at both these places was very different from what it was in other parts of the North-Western Provinces. The force consisted of Infantry and Cavalry. The Infantry comprised two Battalions of twelve Tomans each, and three extra Tomans, and the Cavalry of three Rissalahs.⁴³ They looked after Jails and all the **Thanas** in Banda.⁴⁴ Only one **Mohurrir** was retained at each **Thana**. In Hamirpur, they took care of the Jails and ten out of nineteen **Thanas**.⁴⁵ The result of the introduction of those Battalions in Bundelkhand and also at other places was that the responsible policemen were not paid so well then as formerly. Hardly one of them was able to read or write or understand the duties of a Police Officer, and the whole work was therefore thrown into the hands of the **Mohurrir**, a mere writer on Rs. 7 a month.⁴⁶ While criticising this arrangement Thomason again observes: "It is impossible to recommend the continuance of such a system, still less its extension to other districts....I do most earnestly solicit permission to revive the office of **Thanadars**, and replace the old Police. The strength and cost of the Police as it stood before....may be taken as a standard, and a new distribution of functions and of salaries effected so as to decrease the number, but raise the salaries. It is difficult to suppose that two Tomans can be required in Bundelkhand for any length of time. One of them may advantageously with its Rissalahs be moved to Benares, and the three extra Tomans with their Rissalahs be kept as now, for the service of the Governor-General's Agent."⁴⁷

42. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 10 of Nov. 10, 1843.

43. For the constitution and cost of each branch of the force (the total being 3,60,675 per annum), see Table I in Appendix 'M'.

44. In 24 **Thanas** of Banda as many **Thanadars** each drawing Rs. 25 per mensem have been replaced by :

4 Tomandars	....	@ 50	....	....	200
3 Jamadars	....	@ 30	....	....	90
17 Havalgars	....	@ 12	....	....	204

Total 494

vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 175.

45. For the disposition of this force in March, 1845, and also the cost of the part of the force engaged in the civil duties of Banda and Hamirpur—see Tables II and III in Appendix 'N' and 'O' respectively.

46. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 175-176.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

This system of reserve and military police also did not meet the approval of the districts where it was introduced. Writing about the Battalion in the Allahabad district Thornton remarked: "As to the reserved heads of sepoy and sowars (particularly drawn from the military), it may be observed that the former is a peculiar force only maintained in some districts. Probably the men of the Jail-guard at Allahabad perform the same functions as these men do in other districts. But if not, there can be no necessity now for raising a force of that description. Sowars are a description of force on which it is not easy to place a limit. In Bengal there are none, or very few; in some districts of the North-Western Provinces there are very many, in others few. The whole force of sowars throughout these provinces was lately examined and compared, and it did not appear that there was any deficiency at Allahabad. No doubt sowars are, and may be, very useful, especially for patrolling the Grand Trunk Road, but there are no other features of the Allahabad district which call for the special services of such a force, except that it is traversed by the Grand Trunk Road."⁴⁸

The total expenditure on the military police employed for civilian duties in the North-Western Provinces including the salary of the policemen and the officers in 1845 amounted to approximately Rs. 1,16,877.⁴⁹ Though so much was spent on the military police, yet it did not achieve anything substantial in the establishment of peace and order in the province. In spite of the best efforts of Captain Hearsay who was in-charge of the North-Western Frontier Military Police Battalion, robbers from the Awadh side continued to plunder and pillage the North-Western Provinces, so much so that Buller, the Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, had to report on January 13, 1847: "as far as the interests of that district are concerned, the Oudh Frontier Police does not exist."⁵⁰ Though unsound, the system of Military Police Battalion for civil duties continued even after Thomason. It was swept away on the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857. Thus throughout Thomason's regime the police as civil body did

48. Thornton's letter to R. Lowther, dated the 18th November, 1851, No. 4059 of 1851, Judicial Department No. 50. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 50, p. 210.

49. Shakespear to Bushby, 1286 of July 19, 1845. vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 30 of August 9, 1845.

50. Thornton to Elliot, 193 A of May 27, 1847. vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 6 of October 23, 1847.

not exist in the province.⁵¹ It is true that many of the proposals put forward by Thomason from time to time were not accepted by authorities, yet he persisted with righteous tenacity on the reorganization of the police force in accordance with his conviction. As a result of his unceasing campaign "the police divisions were frequently enlarged, and from the saving effected by reduction in number the salary of the police officers was proportionately increased."⁵²

For checking corruption among the policemen, particularly those who were entrusted to look after the *sarais* on the road side and to help the travellers, Thomason had issued very strict orders. They were sternly prohibited from interfering in any personal matters of the travellers, so as unduly to favour any party, or to derive for themselves a profit from the undertakings. They were also forbidden to have any intercourse with the contractors of the shops on the road side in so far as the collection and sale of their articles was concerned. They were to keep watch outside the *sarai* buildings, and were never allowed to enter them in their official capacity, unless of course, demanded by special circumstances like those of enforcing peace or executing some order. They were not to levy dues on the travellers who used to alight at *sarais*, or to compel them to put up at a particular place.⁵³ Thomason was also very careful in regard with the designs of the *Thanas* and checkpoints on the road side. He had recommended that the building should be slightly raised above the ground and close on the road, consisting of two rooms and a verandah in front. These checkpoints and *Thanas* were to be built at a distance of two miles from each other.⁵⁴

51. The regular police force in the North-Western Provinces up to 1857 consisted of establishments having no connection with each other. During the outbreak of 1857 Revolt these forces melted away and on the restoration of the order, a military police was raised consisting of a battalion of infantry and cavalry in each Division, the scale providing for one man to every 1,260 of population and every 4½ square miles of area. It was only under Act V of 1861, as already stated, that a regular civil police was started in the provinces on the model of the Irish constabulary. vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 128.

52. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 71.

53. Notification No. 1695, Judicial Department, N.W.P., Criminal, Agra, dated the 28th April, 1848; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 421-422.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 422.

Thomason's Humanitarian Side

Thomason's schemes regarding the management of the jails met with greater success. In the early years of the Government of the East India Company jails were not at all properly managed in the North-Western Provinces.⁵⁵ There were no set rules and regulations governing them. Lord Auckland had indeed shown some interest in improving and administering the prisons in the province.⁵⁶ But it was Thomason's regime which saw the complete fruition of his schemes. By the time Thomason had arrived, there was a considerable increase in the number of prisoners in the province. In 1842 there were 21,607 prisoners looked after by 3,601 guards to watch them.⁵⁷ Most of them, particularly the prisoners, sentenced to life-term imprisonment, were dangerous people to be dealt with by the Jail authorities.⁵⁸ According to the report of Clarke, the Magistrate, a serious incident took place on November 30, 1842, in the Bareilly Jail, when 16 life-term prisoners while returning from their work overpowered the guards, killed 2 *barkandazes*, shot down the Naib Jamadar and wounded 5 or 6 others. With the help of some other prisoners, they challenged the police and 25 of them absconded in the dusk "with firearms, ammunitions and swords in the hands, after burning the Jailor's house and several ranges of huts."⁵⁹

55. Even as late as 1838-39, Lord Auckland had observed in his Report on the North-Western Provinces during his direct rule that "the jail buildings (and administration) of these provinces are for the most part very defective." vide Minute of Auckland, dated February 4, 1840, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 2 of March 11, 1840.

56. Lord Auckland had the jails repaired at Delhi and Mathura with some additions to their buildings. He had also constructed a new prison at Bareilly. He was the man responsible for sanctioning the construction of single-seated cells in the jails at Agra and Banaras. Over and above these he appointed well-qualified jailors on an experimental basis on a salary of Rs. 100 per month. vide Minute of Auckland (February 4, 1840), op. cit.; also Davidson to Thornton, No. 79 of November 30, 1844, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 14 of October 12, 1844 and No. 9 of November 30, 1844.

57. Between 1829 and 1839, (i.e., within ten years) there was an increase of about 2½ times in the rate of prisoners in the North-Western Provinces. vide Robertson's Minute, N.W.P., dated January 11, 1843; also Dharam Bhanu, op. cit.

58. Robertson's Minute on North-Western Provinces (December 12, 1840), vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 7 of January 11, 1841.

59. Hamilton to Halliday, No. 2826 of December 31, 1842; vide Home Judicial Proceedings, Nos. 14 and 15 of January 20, 1843.

Under such circumstances Thomason had to give his serious thought to prison reforms and improvement works which were already initiated by Lord Auckland. The first important step taken by him was to appoint W.H. Woodcocks on a salary of Rs. 2,500 per month, as Inspector of Prisons with the task of supervising and co-ordinating the jails throughout the North-Western Provinces.⁶⁰ This post was found to be so useful that a similar office was created in Bengal. The Governments of Madras and Bombay were also authorised to establish the office within their respective Presidencies.⁶¹ Appreciating the importance of this newly created office, Muir observes, "it has long since been found necessary to employ an officer in that capacity for the non-regulation province of the Punjab; and the advantage which would have been derived from possessing the control of such an officer there from its first annexation having been made apparent, the Government has profited by experience, and has included an Inspector of Prisons among the necessary administrative officers of the province of Oudh."⁶² To avoid the recurrence of the Bareilly Jail incident, Thomason made specific recommendations which also met the wholehearted support of Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General. According to these recommendations it was proposed to keep all long term prisoners in a separate prison where their attempt to escape or commit offence could not succeed. To meet this requirement, he recommended for a Central Jail in the North-Western Provinces which was finally constructed at Aligarh on the Governor-General's sanction to it on May 11, 1844.⁶³ Soon after this another Central Prison was brought into being at Agra followed by others at Allahabad, Bareilly, Banaras, Jabalpur and Meerut, each under the charge of one whole-time European Superintendent of Jails.⁶⁴ This scheme regarding jail administration did not only improve the prison discipline hitherto

60. Davidson to Thornton, No. 79 of November 30, 1844, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 14 of October 12, 1844, and No. 9 of November 30, 1844; also Thornton to Curry, No. 2344 of June 3, 1846, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 4 of July 11, 1846.

61. Muir, R., *The Making of British India 1756-1858*, p. 363.

62. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

63. Davidson to the Secretary, N.W.P. Government, No. 29 of May 11, 1844, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 12 of May 11, 1844.

64. Report of the Inspector-General of Prisons, North-Western Provinces for 1854, vide *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 53 of September 1858; also Board of Revenue Proceedings No. 76, of September 10, 1847; also Muir, W., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

unknown in India, but it also greatly saved the unnecessary expenditure incurred on the increased number of special guards for long term prisoners in the numerous District Jails.⁶⁵ Another important reform of Thomason in the prisons was in connection with the clothing of the prisoners. Uniformity in their dress was achieved in all the prisons throughout the provinces. This step was taken in the very first year of his regime.⁶⁶ In regard to food for prisoners, Thomason had retained the ration system of 1811, according to which ration was supplied to the prisoners which they used to cook by themselves due to their caste ridden convictions.⁶⁷ As soon as this system was dissolved after Thomason and common mess system was introduced in the Jails, there was a revolt against it in 1857. But Thomason was a farsighted man and so he did not upset the old system although this meant a huge burden on the Government.⁶⁸ But whereas Thomason had facilitated the supply of a

65. The number of guards to keep a watch over 21,607 prisoners in the Province in 1842 was 3,601, vide Dharam Bhanu, op cit., p. 282; also Hamilton to Mansal, No. 3390 of December 11, 1843, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 6 of January 13, 1844.

66. The total cost of clothing and bedding of 72,18,367 prisoners in 40 prisons in the province in 1815 was Rs. 43, 257-8-6, making an average of Rs. 2-10-5 per prisoner. The highest cost of clothes and bedding was reported from Dehra Dun, at Rs. 5-14-11 per head, and the lowest was Rs. 0-13-6 per head at Ajmer, vide Woodcocks Report, dated May 18, 1846, vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 4 of July 11, 1846.

67. The menu and quantity of diet fixed in 1841 for the prisoners in the N.W.P. was—ten **chhataks** wheat flour and two **chhataks** dal (pulses). Dal was to be replaced with vegetable or rice every second or third day in equal quantity. Besides these, some salt, red and black pepper and sometimes a little of **ghee** were also given to them, vide Dharam Bhanu, op. cit., pp. 291-292; also Home Miscellaneous Records No. 5 of July 10, 1843.

68. Food rations supplied to 72,18,367 prisoners in 1845, in the Province was at the total cost of Rs. 3,63,391, making an average annual cost of meals at Rs. 18-13-7 per prisoner. It came to—

Per month—Rs. 1-9-8 (25-05 paisa)

Per day—10.025 paisa.

Per meal—5.013 paisa.

The record (highest) cost of food was reported from Delhi area, at Rs. 32-1-9 per head per year, and the lowest was recorded at Badaun at Rs. 13-9-9½ per head per year, vide Woodcocks Report of May 18, 1846, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 4, of July 11, 1846.

variety of food to the prisoners every second or third day, he had prohibited the use of tobacco by them in 1852.⁶⁹

Combining Of The Judicial Set Up

Thomason also took equally keen interest in matters of justice. The whole judicial system in the provinces was imported from Bengal and rested virtually on the Code of 1793. Under it, Thomason maintained the old system of Courts in the province which continued from the time of Lord William Bentinck.⁷⁰ The only major change that took place in this field during his time was the transfer of Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats from Allahabad to the capital of the North-Western Provinces at Agra in 1843.⁷¹ These two Adalats were the highest courts of civil (Diwani) and criminal (Nizamat) justice in the province. The number of Judges of the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats varied from time to time and depended upon the requirements of work. The average period of services of the Judges of the Sadar Courts of the North-Western Provinces was 26 years, while in Bengal it was 34 years.⁷² Normally, they had to their credit 18 to 26 years of service in the Company. Their salary on an average was Rs. 27,000 per year.⁷³ There were also certain Covenanted and Uncovenanted officers for the proper functioning of judicial administration. The Judges of the Sadar Courts, Munsifs, the Sadar Amins and the Principal Sadar Amins were Uncovenanted Judicial officers, while the Covenanted officers were the City and Zila Judge and the Judges of the Sadar Adalats. According to Raikes, "there were more or less 125 native or other Uncovenanted judges, the bulk of whom received a very scanty salary."⁷⁴

On the civil side Munsifs were the lowest civil judicial officers who had the power to decide cases up-to an amount of Rs. 300. The City and Zila Judges used to hear a regular appeal from Munsif's decisions and thereafter give their decision which was

69. Only in few cases tobacco was allowed to some prisoners for a temporary period, and that too, on medical advice; vide Home Public Proceedings No. 7 of April 8, 1859.

70. Bengal Regulation of 1831; also Raikes, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

71. Bengal Regulation VI of 1831; also Bengal Regulation XXV of 1837.

72. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 278 and 283.

74. Raikes, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

taken as final.⁷⁵ Like the **Munsif's** the **Sadar Amins** were empowered to try suits and decide cases whose value did not exceed Rs. 1,000.⁷⁶ The City and Zilla Judges were the final Court to give judgment in appeals against the **Sadar Amins**. The same procedure followed in regard to summary appeals rejecting suits.⁷⁷ According to Act XVI of 1853, a special appeal against the City and Zilla Judges to the **Sadar Diwani Adalats** was allowed in some regular cases.⁷⁸ The last of the Uncovenanted judicial officers on the civil side of justice was the Principal **Sadar Amin** who was authorised to try all suits irrespective of the value of the amount in dispute and the fact whether the case was originally instituted in his court or appeals against the lower courts were referred to him by the City and Zilla Judges. Appeals from his decision also lay with the City and Zilla Judges. In case the value of the amount in dispute exceeded Rs. 5,000, the appeal was made direct to the **Sadar Diwani Adalat**.⁷⁹ The two Covenanted officers of justice, i.e., the City and Zilla Judges and the Judges of the **Sadar Diwani Adalat** enjoyed great judicial powers. The jurisdiction of the City and Zilla Judges commenced from the cases involving Rs. 5,000 onward.⁸⁰ They had also the power to refer some cases of their court to the Principal **Sadar Amins** with the permission of the **Sadar Diwani Adalat**. But this right they used only when they were over-burdened with appeals from the lower courts like those of the **Munsifs** and **Sadar Amins**.⁸¹ They were also empowered under Bengal Regulation II of 1833 and Act XVI of 1853 to withdraw any case from the Principal **Sadar Amin** or **Sadar Amin** and refer them to some other subordinate court or try them themselves.⁸² The Judge of the **Sadar Diwani Adalat** functioned as the highest judicial authority in the province and the appeals against the City and Zilla Judges lay with him. Apart from this, he was also authorised to call off those cases from the City and Zilla Courts

75. Bengal Regulation V of 1831.

76. The **Sadar Amin's** jurisdiction was started by the Law Commission of 1853 to begin cases whose value in dispute was above Rs. 300. The First Report of the Indian Law Commission, 1853, Appendix B. No. 3; vide also Bengal Regulation V of 1831 and Act IX of 1844.

77. Bengal Regulation V of 1831.

78. Act XVI of 1853.

79. Act XXV of 1837.

80. Act IX of 1844.

81. Ibid.

82. Bengal Regulation II of 1833; also Act XVI of 1853.

whose value of the amount in dispute exceeded Rs. 10,000 and thus decide those cases by himself.⁸³ These cases could also be decided in his court at the first instance.⁸⁴ The decisions of the Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat were final. But in case the amount of the cases exceeded Rs. 10,000, the appeal was finally made to the Privy Council in England.⁸⁵

On the Criminal side the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was the highest court which took cognizance of all criminal cases throughout the province and was empowered to pass final sentences of death, imprisonment for life, and to annul or mitigate the awards of lower courts.⁸⁶ Like civil courts, the Sadar Nizamat Adalat also had four Uncovenanted and two Covenanted Judicial officers. The Uncovenanted officers were the Sadar Amins, Principal Sadar Amin, Deputy Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates, while the Covenanted officers were the City and Zilla Magistrates or Joint Magistrates and the Sessions Judge. So far as these Uncovenanted officers were concerned, each one had limited powers. For instance, the Sadar and Principal Sadar Amins of the City and Zilla Courts were authorised to deal with the cases of petty thefts and offences referred to them by Magistrates for trial; and the utmost punishment that they could award was confined to a fine of Rs. 50 and imprisonment with labour for not more than one month.⁸⁷ Appeals against their decisions lay with the Magistrate or Joint Magistrate and were to be filed within a month.⁸⁸ Like Sadar Amins and Principal Sadar Amins, the Deputy Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates were empowered to pronounce punishment of imprisonment up to one month with the additional power of inflicting another month's punishment in lieu of corporal punishment. In case they thought that the convict merited severer punishment exceeding their jurisdiction, they could refer the case to the Magistrate or Joint Magistrate.⁸⁹ They could

83. Patra, A.C., *The Administration of Justice under the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa*, p. 69.

84. The amount appealable to the Sovereign in Council had been fixed at the sum of 10,000 Company's rupees for all the Courts in India by the Order in Council of the 10th April, 1838. vide Patra, A.C., *op. cit.*, p. 69.

85. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

86. Act V of 1841; also Act XIII of 1842.

87. Act XXXI of 1841.

88. Regulation II of 1834; vide also Act XV of 1843 and Act X of 1854.

89. Act XXXI of 1841; also Act X of 1854; also Bengal Regulation III of 1821.

also award the punishment of imprisonment not exceeding one month on appeals referred to them against the judgments of the Joint Magistrates.⁹⁰ In exceptional cases when the Assistant Magistrates were put in some special position they were empowered to give imprisonment punishment for one year.⁹¹ But normally they enjoyed the same powers as the Deputy Magistrates in criminal matters.

As compared to Uncovenanted officers, the Covenanted wielded greater authority in respect of criminal cases. The City and Zilla Magistrate and Joint Magistrate had the authority to inflict two years' imprisonment with rigorous labour on any criminal.⁹² But whenever they felt that a heavier punishment was merited, they had to refer to the Sessions Judge of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat.⁹³ In such cases an appeal against their judgment lay with the Sessions Judge within a month. They were also empowered to effect monthly jail deliveries.⁹⁴ Whereas the local criminal cases were dealt according to the process shown above, judgments of law courts on cases against the States were forwarded to the Government for approval. The orders of the Government were to be awaited for three months before the final disposal of the sentences.⁹⁵

It is to be noted here that though the Judge was the superior officer in the district, the Magistrate-Collector was the more important and influential personage. The power and discretion of the Magistrate-Collector were direct and wide which the Judge might fetter or restrain, but could not exercise himself.⁹⁶ This peculiar relationship between the two would probably have left much room for quarrel and rancour.

To look after the administrative and official side of the two Sadar Courts, there used to be a chief ministerial officer known as Register (later Registrar). He was an equally important part of the judicial set up in the North-Western Provinces during Thomason's

90. Act XV of 1843.

91. Act II of 1834; also Bengal Regulation XII of 1818.

92. Act XXXI of 1841.

93. F. Millet, Question No. 1289, House of Lords, Report from Committees, 1852, Vol. XXX; also Act XXXI of 1841.

94. Act XXXI of 1841; Act X of 1854; Act VII of 1835; Bengal Regulation VII of 1831.

95. Harrington to Macswean, dated December 11, 1836, vide Home Judicial Proceedings No. 5 of January 18, 1836.

96. Bengal Regulation VII of 1835.

time. His main duties were conducting correspondence of the civil and criminal cases under the Sadar Adalat's direction, issuing orders of both the courts in his name and under his signature, supervising the work of junior officials in his office and maintaining proper discipline in the office staff. Even the copies of the judgments of both the courts were made under his signature though their original copies were signed by the Judges themselves.⁹⁷ The Registrar's (Registrar's) office was too overburdened with the cases from the Sadar Adalats to maintain systematically and expeditiously the bulky and unmanageable records.⁹⁸ To cope with the amount of work, Thomason requested the Governor-General to sanction the post of an additional officer, the Legal Remembrancer. As this demand was exceedingly genuine, the sanction was readily accorded in 1844 and the appointment made in the same year.⁹⁹ Another important sanction received during this time from the Governor-General for the Registrar's office was the creation of the post of a Translator who was to translate the decisions of the Sadar Courts from English into Hindi and Urdu.¹⁰⁰ Previously all the translation work was done by the Registrar himself.

To enforce uniformity in the procedure adopted by the revenue courts and the courts of the Civil Judges, Thomason had recommended that the proceedings of the revenue courts should also be maintained in English to facilitate the Civil Judges to correlate them with the other documents in English while disposing off the appeals against the judgments of the revenue courts. The reasons in favour of introducing this innovation can best be understood in the words of Thornton: "As the law at present stands, the Government of the country exercises its judicial functions in certain cases through two classes of courts, viz., those constituted under Regulation VII of 1822, in which the revenue authorities preside, and those constituted under Regulation III, 1793, and the corresponding enactments in which the Civil Judges preside.

97. Thornton to Bushby No. 981, Dated March 11, 1838, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 9 of March 25, 1848.

98. See Appendix 'P', Table IV.

99. Letter No. 1401 of April 7, 1848, vide Home Judicial Proceedings, No. 16 of August 26, 1848.

100. The sanction for this post was given on August 26, 1848. The salary of this officer was fixed at Rs. 500 per month. vide Home Miscellaneous Records (Judicial), No. 6 of July 10, 1843; also No. 10 of December 11, 1843; also Home Judicial Proceedings No. 20 of August 25, 1848,

"The former are bound by few laws of procedure. They decide summarily, and much of the matter which influences their decisions is contained in English correspondence, which may not be reduced to the form of a proceeding in the vernacular language.

"The decisions summarily passed in the Revenue Courts are open to review in the Civil Courts. Regular suits which may be brought to contest such decisions, are of the nature of an appeal to a court in its regular jurisdiction from a summary award," (vide Clause 2, Section 23, Regulation VII, 1822). In such cases it is ruled by Clause I, Section 31, Regulation VII, 1822 that, "the proceedings held on the summary enquiry shall be called for by precept from the court, and filed on the record of the case."

"The object of this provision evidently was that the Civil Court, in its regular jurisdiction, should have the case before it in the same way as the court which passed the summary award, together with any additional circumstances which the litigant parties might bring forward in bar of the award. The fact that part of the revenue proceedings are in the form of English correspondence, and part in that of vernacular proceedings, only renders it the more necessary for the ends of justice, that the Court shall strictly require the production of all that bears on the case.

"If the Court fails to attend to this provision in its full extent, the parties may fairly complain that important considerations affecting their rights, and which they have themselves no certain means of bringing forward, are kept concealed from the judge. The legislature has armed the Courts with an important power of discovery, and if they fail to exercise this power, they neglect a function necessary to the proper administration of justice. The proceedings of the Settlement Officers are frequently guided by express instructions received beforehand from the Government, or Sudder Board of Revenue. The grounds on which these instructions were given cannot be fully ascertained except by a perusal of the English correspondence."¹⁰¹

101. Thornton to the Register (Registrar.) Sudder Dewani Adalat, N.W.P., dated 22nd September, 1846, Judicial Civil, No. 4105, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I. pp. 213-214; also Thornton to Edmonstone, dated 21st August, 1846, Judicial Civil, No. 3519, Document No. 30, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I; also Thornton to the Secretary, Sudder Board of Revenue, N.W.P., dated 18th November, 1846; No. 4956, Document No. 34, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I; also Thornton to Bushby, dated 18th November, 1846, No. 4957, Document No. 35, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I.

But the above suggestion could not be carried out as it was not considered to be necessary. The grounds on which it was turned down have been mentioned in great detail in the letter of Edmonstone, the Register (Registrar) to the court of **Sudder Dewanny Adalat**, to John Thornton, dated the 7th October, 1846. The decision over that issue was taken by the three Judges namely J. P. Thompson, C.R. Cartwright and A.W. Begbie.¹⁰² They had come to the conclusion that "the civil courts are neither required nor empowered, by the Section and Regulation (Section 31, Regulation VII of 1822) above cited, to call for any other papers, either English or vernacular, than those filed with the record of the Collector's or Settlement Officer's proceedings on the summary enquiry under notice, nor would they, in the opinion of the court, be warranted in accommodating their judgment to the letter or the spirit of English correspondence, which may pass between the officers of Government, (not in Court), and with the particulars of which the parties, whose interests will be directly affected by the Court's decision, have small means of becoming acquainted, unless the substance of such correspondence be incorporated with the vernacular record of the proceedings, held by the Collector or Settlement Officer. . . . Differing as to the construction of the law, the Court likewise dissent from the opinions expressed by His Honor on the general question; they deem it needless to enter into any lengthened discussion, seeing that, while the Regulation under consideration remains unmodified, the views of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor cannot be acted on. They will only observe that the civil courts, as at present constituted, cannot undertake to follow the practice indicated by His Honor. It is not their duty to advocate the interests of either party, or to seek for evidence. It is not their duty to travel out of the record, by attempting to make "discoveries", which may be as prejudicial to the interests of the one, as beneficial to those of the other party. But they are bound to receive whatever evidence, oral or documentary, the parties may produce, and to judge accordingly. Any other practice would be as inexpedient, as it would be illegal. . . ."¹⁰³

The arguments put forward by the panel of three experts in favour of maintaining the old procedure were definitely more logical than those put forward by Thomason in support of its revision. For

102. Edmonstone to Thornton, dated 7th October, 1846, No. 1535 of 1846, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 215.

103. Ibid., pp. 216 to 218; also Thornton to Bushby, dated 18th November, 1846, No. 4957, Judicial Civil, Document No. 35, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I.

it was always safer to rely on the original documents in vernacular languages than on their reproductions in English. While advocating for the reproduction of records in English, Thomason had at least in this instance deviated from his general assertion that the vernacular languages should be made more popular for the benefit of the common man.

Thomason had his own ideas regarding the registration of the deeds and the operation of Act XIX, 1843 and IV, 1845.¹⁰⁴ The general feature of his proposal was that the documents (regarding the changes in the proprietary possession of the land) on record in the Collector's office relating to each **Mouzah** should be placed together in one bundle, with an open fly list and there must be maintained a **Mouzah-war** Index where all documents must be entered under convenient heads. Similarly, there must be separate **Mahalwari** Registers showing the changes in the proprietary possession of the land, and **Mouzahwar** Registers showing changes in the nature and incidents of the property. The Register (Registrar) of the Civil Court should also maintain the complete record of deeds and on the 1st of each month he should send an extract from his Index to the Collector's office.¹⁰⁵ Though this system entailed more work and bigger staff, it introduced a method in the registration of deeds and proprietary rights. It had also the advantage of greater precision in entries of the deeds and the maintenance of an account of its transfer to the **Malguzari** Register. This also facilitated the Collector's work in confirming those cases of deeds which related to several **Mauzahs** or **Mahals**. Though such cases were not supposed to be numerous, yet it was provided that a paper of reference to the document (**Jakur**) should be put up with the records of each **Mouzah** mentioned in the deed.¹⁰⁶

Specific minimum penalties for the non-observance of these rules were also to be fixed on the defaulting Registers (Registrars) or on the Collector's **Sherishtadar** or **Mahafiz Daftar**, as the case might be. The Judge and the Commissioner of Revenue were also required to see that the provisions were maintained and appropriate penalties for their neglect determined.¹⁰⁷

104. Thornton to Edmonstone, dated June 30th, 1847, No. 2793, Judicial Department, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 285.

105. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

106. Ibid., p. 287.

107. Ibid., p. 288.

The establishment of this system was got approved by the Court. It greatly prevented the falsification of documents and lessened the liability of a fair title to property then becoming void by some undiscovered act of registration in one of the numerous subordinate offices. How seriously Thomason had taken this scheme is clear from Thornton's letter:

"The Lieutenant-Governor requests that he may be favoured with a list of districts in which the arrangement of the Moonsiff's jurisdictions is still incomplete, and of the period which is likely to elapse before their completion is reported."¹⁰⁸

The following figures and particulars of registration during the years 1844 and 1845 in the 36 offices subordinate to the Sadar Diwani Adalat in the province give an idea of the scheme :¹⁰⁹

	1844	1845
No. of Deeds registered ..	10,320	16,027
No. of Copies taken ..	219	315
No. of Deeds inspected ..	15	19
Amount of Fees	Rs. 20,945-8	32,322-8

Thomason did not take as much interest in the judicial administration on the criminal side as he took in it on the civil side. As revenue formed a special field of his interest, it was but natural for him to be specially interested in all the civil and revenue cases being decided on the civil side in a thorough and systematic way on the basis of correct records. In fact it would have been more in conformity with his reputation as a shrewd administrator had he shown an equal amount of interest in the criminal side as a number of accused had risen considerably in recent years.¹¹⁰ Even the Governor-General Lord Ellenborough had expressed great dissatisfaction in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated 10th May, 1843, in connection with the overcrowding in the jails and the length of the terms of imprisonment.¹¹¹

One peculiar practice continuing in the field of criminal justice in the province was that the law had prohibited any investigation in the first instance, by a Magistrate, of criminal charges preferred

108. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

109. Thornton to Bushby, dated the June 30th, 1847, No. 1791, Judicial Department, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 284.

110. See Appendix 'P' in Table No. 4.

111. Auckland to the Court of Directors, vide Home Miscellaneous Records (judicial) No. 3 of May 10, 1843.

against persons attached to the army of the Company.¹¹² It prohibited a Magistrate not only from punishing a British-European subject belonging to the forces, but also even from hearing evidence to the charge. All that he could do was to make the offender over to the commanding officer of the nearest military station for the purpose of being brought before a court-martial and if no effective proceedings were taken against the offender, the Magistrate could report the circumstances to the Governor-General-in-Council who could order the Magistrate to proceed in the ordinary court of law. Thomason in his report to the Governor-General remarked about this evil: "It was evident that such a state of things amounted to a virtual denial of legal redress against a large class of crimes."¹¹³ Thomason was vehemently against this irregularity in the administration of justice in the province. "If this state of the law were generally known and acted upon," he wrote, "the efforts of the Magistrates to protect the people's or their own officers in the discharge of a duty which was often very disagreeable would be liable to be constantly frustrated on the great military thoroughfares, such for instance as the Grand Trunk Road."¹¹⁴ When the matter was referred to the Advocate-General, he expressed the opinion that with regard to English soldiers, the offences committed by them were only cognizable by the Supreme Court and by the courts-martial.¹¹⁵

One of the achievements of Thomason in the field of justice was the inclusion of a good number of Indians to act as Judicial Officers and Judges. The following figures available up to 1849 relating to the recruitment and promotion of Indians in the judicial administration of the North-Western Provinces are a clear proof of it :¹¹⁶

YEAR	ORIGINAL SUITS		APPEAL SUITS		Percentage of reversals by Superior Courts
	European Judges	Indian Judges	European Judges	Indian Judges	
1843	31	29,181	1,505	3,083	5½ per cent
1844	17	40,213	4,397	2,902	5 per cent
1845	10	40,579	3,980	2,809	4½ per cent
1846	3	41,775	3,900	2,392	4 per cent
1847	8	45,169	3,608	2,559	3¾ per cent
1848	11	41,340	3,977	2,916	4 per cent
1849	20	44,933	3,802	3,674	4¼ per cent

112. Bengal Regulation XX of 1825.

113. Home, Miscellaneous Records (Judicial), No. 7 of December 31, 1852.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Lords Third Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, C, p. 150.

The Indian Judges and the Indian Judicial Officers were in no way inferior to their European counterparts in efficiency. But they did not enjoy as much power and emoluments as the Europeans in the same positions did.¹¹⁷ Similar was the case with the British European subjects who were not amenable to the Company's Courts and whose cases were decided by the Crown's Courts existing in the Presidency towns only.¹¹⁸

On the whole, the judicial set up of the North-Western Provinces during Thomason's regime was certainly not sound. It suffered from a number of shortcomings. Among the important defects was the absence of a complete Code of laws both in the civil and criminal sides.¹¹⁹ The result of this was that no even-handed justice could be meted out because one and the same crime could be decided differently by two Judges. The discrimination between the Indian and British Judicial Officers and subjects in judicial matters was a further stigma on the judicial body as well as on the Government.

Another defect related to the system of appeals. For example, in the City Courts a decision taken by the **Munsifs** could be reversed by the **Sadar Amin** whose judgment again could be reviewed by the Principal **Sadar Amin**, the City and **Zilla Judge** and the **Sadar Diwani Adalat** successively. Similar was the case in criminal matters, where the Judicial Officer's decisions were liable to be revised by Magistrates and then by the Sessions Judge and Judge of the **Sadar Nizamat Adalat**. Under this procedure, there was always a scope for an appeal against the decision of a lower court to the upper one. And the Judicial Officers did not know the fate of their decisions or the findings of the higher courts. Another loophole in the system was that the courts of appeal solely depended upon the papers and records of the lower courts and did not provide for the re-examina-

117. According to Sir Eiskine Perry a European Judge received on an average about £23,000 a year, while an Indian **Munsif** received only £120 a year. vide Lords First Report, 1852-53, Sir Eiskine Perry's evidence.

118. Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, No. XI, 'Administration of Criminal Justice in Bengal,' p. 145.

119. Throughout the period the judicial administration of the North-Western Provinces applied the personal law, the Regulations issued by the Governor-General from time to time, the Charter Acts, the Acts of the British Parliament as it was the Supreme legislative body, the English Common Law, Hindu, and Muhammedan Law, local customary laws and treaties negotiated with various parties and individuals by the Company and the Crown. See for details Chailley, *Administrative Problems of British India*, p. 357.

tion of the witnesses before passing their judgments.¹²⁰ Again, the Magistrate who was required to act as thief-catcher as well as a Judge was clearly carrying out the two conflicting duties. This made it extremely doubtful if the Magistrate was in a position to deliver an unbiased judgment. Thus the amalgamation of the functions of catching and trying the thieves was injurious to the offenders and to the Magistrates. Another glaring anomaly in connection with the Magistrates was that they were not permitted, rather they were prohibited, even to hear evidence to the charge preferred against persons attached to the army of the Company, particularly a British European subject.¹²¹ They were only to make over that offender to the Commanding Officer for his court-martial. The utmost that he could do was to report the circumstances to the Governor-General-in-Council in case no effective proceedings were undertaken against the offender. Thereafter he could order the Magistrate to proceed in the ordinary court of law. Thomason took notice of this inadequate system with all his seriousness and remarked, "It was evident that such a state of things amounted to a virtual denial of legal redress against a large class of crimes."¹²² How strongly he felt about this matter is clear from what he said :

"If this state of the law were generally known and acted upon, the efforts of the Magistrates to protect the peoples or their own officers in the discharge of a duty which was often very disagreeable, would be liable to be constantly frustrated on the great military thoroughfares, such for instance as the Grand Trunk Road."¹²³

Thomason's attention was directed to this serious defect by the case of one Captain Hicks who assaulted a **Barkandaz** on duty in Sirsa through which Hicks was passing. The Magistrate could only report the matter to the military authorities either at Ferozepur or at Hansi, no other military station being near about.¹²⁴ But the vehement criticism of Thomason did not find favour with the Advocate-General when the matter was referred to him. He expressed in very clear terms that the offences committed by the English soldiers could only be tried either by the Supreme Court or by the Military Courts Martial.¹²⁵

120. Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, No. XI, p. 143.

121. Bengal Regulation XX of 1825.

122. Home Miscellaneous Records (Judicial), No. 7 of December 31, 1852.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

Thus Thomason had tried to eradicate the evils in the judicial system in his own way. But he could not achieve much success. In judging this question, it must be remembered that the Covenanted agency was not of his own choosing and it was impossible for a person like him to preside over the judicial administration of the country, without introducing sufficient improvements and infusing vigour into it. He introduced quick despatch of business. Under him prompt and searching orders were issued in the Judicial Department as in the Revenue Department. A careful amendment to the local jurisdiction was effected wherever ill-arrangement or inter-mixture impeded the judicial administration; and the subordinate agency, (i.e., Uncovenanted) was renovated for the more efficient discharge of its duty.¹²⁶ In one respect the Government of Thomason had greatly benefited the criminal and judicial department. The publications, which were issued from the press under his authority¹²⁷ consisted of the minutest information regarding the area, revenues and population of each pargana and district. The statistical and general information was supplied by the Magistrates and Collectors. Minute directions were given as to how to arrange the various data—statistical, historical, geographical, economical, educational—regarding the current tenures, rise and fall of families, operation of special measures or laws, effect of the revenue and judicial systems, etc.¹²⁸ Thus these publications formed an official history of each district, and contained all that would enable the public officers of the Government to understand the peculiarities of the district and conduct of the administration. Some of the publications completed during Thomason's time were as under :¹²⁹

1. "Memoir of the Statistics of the North-Western Provinces," by A. Shakespear, Esq., C.S., 1848.
2. "Statistical Report of the District of Cawnpore," by R. Montgomery, Esq., C.S., 1849.
3. "Statistical Report of the District of Gurgaon," By Alexander Fraser, Esq., C.S., 1849.
4. "Statistical Report of the District of Kumaon and Garhwal," By J.H. Batten, Esq., C.S., 1851.
5. "Statistical Report of the District of Futtehpoore," By C. W. Kinloch, Esq., C.S., 1852.

126. Muir, W., op. cit., pp. 70-71.

127. Ibid., pp. 73-74.

128. Ibid., loc. cit.

129. Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe, edited by Kaye, p. 285.

The practical usefulness of this system particularly for the departments of Police, Justice and Revenue was recognised so soon by all Provinces of the Government of India that they adopted the scheme with slight modifications according to their need and resources. This scheme which was entirely Thomason's own, must have helped those Judges of the Company's Civil Courts who previously used to be unacquainted with the area, revenue, population, customs, manners and language of the province and law of the land.¹²⁹ Thus it would be clear that Thomason's work in the fields of dispensation of justice was not as outstanding as that in some other fields, yet it was sufficiently good to win for him considerable appreciation of the posterity. His relatively less attachment to the civil and criminal matters can be accounted for by the nature of the subject, which did not involve the abstract principles with which he delighted to work. All things said and done, Thomason's views on the subject of judicial administration were quite mature and sound. For his expert advice he was even consulted by men like Captain Keith Young who had some differences with Sir Charles Napier over the affairs of justice in Sindh. Captain Young wrote privately to Thomason for a judicial clarification regarding the Governor's power and Bengal judicial system and found that "until recently the Bengal judicial system had permitted the appellate authority to inflict and enhance punishment, in alteration of the decision of a subordinate authority. The abolition of this power, Thomason thought, had done more harm than good; and as in Sindh there was no law forbidding its exercise, he did not see how the Governor's orders could be deemed illegal."¹³⁰ This instance among many others can be taken to be a high tribute to the judicious acumen of Thomason paid by a person of no mean importance.

129. Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe, edited by Kaye, p. 285.

130. Lambrick, H.T., Sir Charles Napier and Sind, p. 207.

CHAPTER VII

The Neglected Receive Attention

The Genesis of Irrigation

Irrigation has always formed an important branch of every provincial administration in India. Remarkable irrigation projects had been undertaken by both Hindu and Muslim kings, and the early British rulers too followed in their footsteps. Of the British rulers special mention may be made of Thomason who gave an unusual attention to develop irrigational facilities in the North-Western Provinces. There were two important reasons for Thomason's taking so keen interest in this field. First of all, he had a natural aptitude for civil engineering, and irrigational projects provided ample scope to him for its display; and secondly, the question had been one of pressing importance to the Province ever since the terrific drought of 1836-37 when he was Settlement Officer at Azamgarh. Though the drought did not affect his district, yet he was fully aware of the miseries it entailed. Of the preventive measures against the recurrence of drought, he gave utmost importance to the construction of canals and the distribution of their water.

In the course of his tours Thomason had been noting the faulty alignment of many of the canals that had been constructed in the past.¹ Richard Temple also points out that "his quick eye, however, discovered that Native canals were unscientifically laid out, and were seldom conducted along the most favourable lines of country."² Thomason, therefore, made a number of alterations in the old canal system and also introduced new schemes on scientific lines.

1. Thomason's Minute on the Eastern Jamuna Canal, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 389; also Triennial Review of Irrigation in India, (Calcutta, 1922), p. 24; also Imperial Gazetteer, III, p. 327 sqq.

2. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 163.

He bestowed his attention particularly on the great Ganga Canal. The manner in which he worked out the entire scheme of the Ganga Canal under heavy odds deserves special mention.

The idea of the Ganga Canal project originated during the time of Lord Auckland when Colonel John Colvin was appointed to report on it in 1836.³ The Governor-General, due to the outbreak of the severe famine in 1837-38,⁴ had to further realize the utility and need of the canals, because the Western and Eastern Jamuna Canals which had been recently reopened had fully proved their value in the famine, and thus served to impress on the authorities the vast importance of irrigation. Consequently, on orders from Lord Auckland the survey of the land between Haridwar and Roorkee for the proposed project was undertaken. Major Proby Cautley of the Bengal Artillery was also associated with the plan. After thoroughly investigating the whole sight for supplying water to the Muzaffarnagar and Meerut districts, Cautley drafted his Report which was completed on May 12, 1840.⁵ It is interesting to know that a little sketch accompanies and illustrates this Report, and in it a pencil dotted line, marked in Colonel Cautley's writing, the probable direction of head, to pass by Roorkee, exhibits the singular sagacity of that distinguished Engineer, in seeing as it were, where other men conjectured and calculated. The report was much appreciated by the British high officers and particularly by Robertson, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who strongly recommended it. In his Minutes of 1841, Robertson has clearly recorded his appreciation and utility of the whole pro-

3. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, Edited by Dowdell, H.H., and Sethi, R.R., p. 85.

4. The famine of 1837-38 prevailed in a severe form in a tract which held a population of 28 millions including 21 millions in the North-Western Provinces. According to Hunter, there was little food left either for men or cattle. Multitudes of starving wretches thronged the road from Cawnpore to Agra, dying in heaps by the wayside, glad even to pick out the grain which had passed undigested through the bodies of troop-horses on the march. vide Report of Famine Commission, 1880, p. 31; also Administration Report of the United Provinces, 1911-12, p. 22; also Imperial Gazetteer, III, pp. 484 and 501; also Hunter, W.W., Lord Auckland (Rulers of India), pp. 21-22.

5. Eden, E., UP the Country, Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880, p. 31; also Hunter, W.W., Lord Auckland, (Rulers of India), p. 23; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XII, p. 114; also Preface to Colonel Cautley's Report on the Central Doab Canal, 12th May, 1840.

ject so ably elaborated by Cautley.⁶ On the basis of his recommendation, the Court of Directors also sanctioned the scheme on September 1, 1841.⁷ The approximate cost of the project under consideration was put above one million sterling.⁸ Before Lord Auckland left India, a committee of the three of the Company's ablest officers, Abbott, Baker and Cautley had reported upon the best means of carrying out the Court's decree.⁹ But before the project could materialise there took place a great administrative change in the Imperial Government in 1842, viz., the succession of Lord Auckland by Lord Ellenborough. This change had also its effect on the Ganga Canal project. The Afghan War had drained the Indian treasury. Thus due to financial stringency and the strain in the wake of the war, Lord Ellenborough had to put off *inter alia* the Ganga Canal project on April 20, 1842.¹⁰ Positive orders were issued by him on 21st June, 1842, that pending "a further test to the scientific and financial calculations on which the scheme was based, all further expenditure was to be discontinued."¹¹ It seems that the Government of India was at first sceptical as to the feasibility and material gains of the project. Apart from this, since the knowledge of the ground, its contour and capabilities was imperfect, Ellenborough had at one stage decided to change the very nature of the scheme, for he veered round to the view that navigation should be the first object, and irrigation secondary.¹² Under these disappointing and unfavourable circumstances, the Governor of the North-Western Provinces got very much upset due to the sudden interruption of such an ambitious project. With the result that the Provincial Government under Robertson urged and represented that by closing the progressing canal operation set once would obviously involve the State in a serious financial and moral loss. This representation made the Governor-General change his attitude again and in September, 1842, he ordered the resumption of the project.¹³

6. Calcutta Review, Vol. XII, p. 114.

7. Ibid., loc. cit.

8. Ibid., loc. cit.

9. Ibid., loc. cit.

10. Hunter, W.W., Lord Auckland, op. cit., p. 23.

11. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 60.

12. Hunter, W.W., op. cit., p. 23.

13. Ibid., loc. cit., also Board of Revenue G.G. (I), of March 3, 1843.

But the sum of rupees two lakhs a year, which he had sanctioned, was very meagre for such a stupendous scheme.¹⁴ Robertson's efforts to secure greater financial aid for the project met with little success and so the work on the project somehow dragged on till the beginning of 1844 without much progress. An idea of the deplorable conditions caused by the paucity of funds and the lack of adequate staff during Sept. 1842, to April, 1844, can be formed from the fact that Cautley had to suffer the durdgy of surveying the levels and undertaking associated work of a similar nature personally.¹⁵ But this situation did not last long for Cautley was soon assisted by Thomason who had a clear appreciation of the proposed project as well as of the sincerity and ability of Cautley. It was on February 10, 1844, that Thomason took up the project as one of the earliest acts of his regime and remonstrated with Ellenborough, the man to whom he owed his nomination. In the words of Muir, Thomason strongly reacted to "this most uneconomical and extravagant misuse of the Director's time and talents—a waste of directing energy, which no private company acting simply for their own benefit would have incurred."¹⁶ He personally visited the sight to investigate into the undertaking. He felt so much convinced of the importance of the Ganga Canal project that he again wrote to the Governor-General in April, 1844, pleading more strongly for the project and recording his resentment against the apathy of the Government of India.¹⁷ He said that the Governor-General's views on the Ganga Canal in stopping the project as a whole cannot be justified either on grounds "of sound policy, of economy, or of humanity. Hitherto this limit had not done much injury, for in the beginning of a great design, it is long before a sufficient supply of artisans and labourers can be procured. Now, however, the fame of the work had spread: carpenters, masons, artificers, labourers, had congregated from the most distant quarters—Oudh, Bluttee, Marwars, etc. If the restriction be maintained, these must go away, and the conductors of the work be discredited. Viewed in a political aspect, the national reputation was

14. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 60; also Board of Revenue G.G. (1) of March 3, 1843.

15. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 499; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 60; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 23 of October 6, 1843.

16. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 499; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 23 of October 6, 1843.

17. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 499; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 57 of April 12, 1844.

pledged to its success. The many thousands assembled at the Hurdwar fair had seen the State embarked in a gigantic undertaking of turning the Ganges into the Doab; and if the Government were baffled in the work, the prestige of our power and credit would be shaken. Again, the Government was bound by motives of humanity not to delay a work certified as an effectual means of saving a great tract of land from famine; yet the sluggish rate would not complete this work within thirty or forty years to come, during the whole of which period the country would be abandoned to the inroads of drought and all its unmitigated horrors. Mere economy demanded loudly that the operations should be expedited, in order that the expense of costly supervision might be saved. The petty two lakhs expended on it were no more than the annual nett income received direct from the Jumna Canal. Hitherto the Government have advanced nothing towards the Ganges Canal from the general resources of the State. Notwithstanding the proof daily before their eyes of the benefits arising from Canals, they have just done sufficient to commit themselves to the undertaking, but have shrunk from embarking in it with that zeal and determination which will bring its benefits within their reach."¹⁸

By this earnest, almost impassioned despatch, pleading, appealing and strongly arguing for the proposed project of Ganga Canal, Ellenborough was so much moved that he sanctioned rupees one lakh more which raised the total sum to rupees three lakhs per year to be spent on the project.¹⁹ While accepting the allotted amount for the project, he again requested the supreme government for further increase of grant since the sanctioned amount was not sufficient for it.²⁰ It is also worth noting here that shortly after the above referred despatch, Thomason addressed the Military Board on another important aspect of this question on 21st May, 1844.²¹ He directed the Board that sound policy demanded that the works should be substantial and secure, and the superintendence most effective; and after a Canal had once come into full play, and had caused in its vicinity

18. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, pp. 499-500.

19. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 14-16 (B), of April 27, 1844; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 19-26 (B), of May 4, 1844.

20. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 5-8, of March 29, 1845; also No. 8-11, of May 24, 1845.

21. Irrigation projects were executed through the Military Board. vide The Triennial Review, p. 30; also Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. IV, p. 67; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 63.

a vast increase of population, corresponding with the increased productiveness of the soil, the failure of water arising from any oversight or blunder of the Engineers, must involve the unsuspecting people in all the horrors of an artificial famine. This is a most serious aspect of the case, and proves the urgent necessity of the works being efficiently officered, both as respects the number and qualifications of the supervisors.

March Towards A Programme

Thomason's battle for the Ganga Canal continued even after the exit of Lord Ellenborough. Because Lord Hardinge, the successor of Lord Ellenborough, also began in 1845 with the postponement of the more vigorous prosecution of the work which was the principal aim of Thomason. But it was only an experimental step of Lord Hardings who "lid so simply from sanitary considerations, in expectation of the report of a committee appointed to investigate the effect of Canal irrigation upon the healthiness of the adjacent country."²² Thomason too was not opposed to the above-referred committee's examination into the effects of canal irrigation, but he was mainly interested in carrying on more vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal project. Thornton writes :

"The Committee for examining into the effects of canal irrigation on the healthiness of the country, will continue its useful labours, and probably succeed in eliciting something which may throw light on the subject, and which may mitigate evils which undoubtedly have been felt to a certain degree in some places and under peculiar circumstances. But their report can have no effect in determining whether or not the Canal should be constructed, and further to await the completion of the report would only be unnecessarily to put off a decision which has already been long delayed."

"The Lieutenant-Governor observes that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has now had ample opportunity of ascertaining, by personal enquiry and observation, the great advantages of

22. Letter from J. Thornton to Sir H. Elliot, dated the 3rd July, 1851, No. 35, Document No. 217 A of 1851, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 134; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 5-8 of March 29, 1845 and No. 8-11 of May 24, 1845; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 64. The Committee was appointed on September 16, 1845, and it submitted the Report on March 3, 1847, which was later on published. The measures proposed by the committee can be seen in Appendix 'F'. vide p. xviii of the Report.

Canal irrigation, and whilst the Lordship contemplates (vide letter from Under Secretary, Government of India, with the Governor-General, Foreign Department, dated 15th June, 1846, with enclosure) extending its benefits to our new acquisitions on the Sutledge, he cannot hesitate to recognize the strong title to similar favour possessed by our old and valuable provinces that lie between the Ganges and the Jumna."²³

Lord Hardinge, too, like his predecessor was so much impressed by the potent reasoning of Thomason for the proposed work that immediately after the victorious termination of the First Anglo-Sikh War in March, 1847, personally went to see the sight under construction at Solani.²⁴ This on the spot study of Hardinge and the convincing advocacy of the Lieutenant-Governor for the Ganga Canal gave a new turn to the whole question because on 20th April, 1847, the Governor-General recorded his famous Minute enunciating the principle that Irrigation was the grand design before which every thing must bend.²⁵ In the same Minute he also expressed his willingness to authorise an expenditure of rupees twenty lakhs a year and to grant "as large a sum for future years as the Director could spend with a due regard to economy."²⁶ This great favour of the Governor-General for the Ganga Canal is enough to show Thomason's victory. According to Hunter also "urged on by James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Hardinge resolved in 1847 to push the work forward as fast as the means then available would allow."²⁷ Though he had to face certain minor jerks from time to time, for instance at the close of 1847, in view of the ambitious nature of the plan and the magnitude of the work involved, the Court of Directors and the Governor-General had expressed some hesitation, yet by his powerful representations, Thomason very soon managed to remove it.²⁸

23. Letter from J. Thornton to F. Currie, dated the 3rd September, 1846, No. 31; Document No. 3772, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 208.

24. Home Public Proceedings, No. 3 of September 25, 1847; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 6, of October 23, 1847.

25. For details see Lord Hardinge's Minutes on the Ganges Canal, dated April 20, 1847, vide Hunter, W.W., Lord Auckland, pp. 22-23; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 501.

26. Lord Hardinge's Minute (April 20, 1847), op. cit.; also Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 501.

27. Hunter, W.W., op. cit., p. 23.

28. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 501.

Thus after obtaining from the Governor-General and adequate financial provision for the Ganga Canal, Cautley "sailed with a favouring breeze into the haven of ultimate completion."²⁹ But it is to be noted that the Governor-General had given certain directions to the Director also. Some of them were as follows :

"The Director of the Canal should bear in mind that the Government, having once determined to execute his stupendous work, is resolved, on the occurrence of any doubt as to the stability of any part of the work, that strength and durability shall be preferred to mere economy, and that in the preparation of the materials, such as the burning of bricks, the solidity of the foundations, and other professional matters, the doubt shall be solved by adopting the course which will secure the permanency of the works. This course of proceedings will probably in the end "turn out to be the least expensive, by ensuring the state against the future accidents and repairs". This principle is more important to be attended to in a Canal than almost in any other work, inasmuch as the giving way of the Canal at any essential point (say the Solani Aqueduct), would render the whole of the works below the fracture of no value."

"All those improved modes of ensuring a proper draining which are recommended in the report should be most carefully attended to."³⁰

In the light of these directions given by the Governor-General and the Committee, two things are clearly brought out—firstly, that Hardinge was taking a keen interest in the proposed Ganga Canal and so he had enhanced the grants; and secondly, that since he had sanctioned the vigorous prosecution of the works and had stressed the implementation of the abovementioned directions, they were obviously to involve an expense not contemplated in the original estimate. To sum up, apart from the keen interest in the proposed Ganga Canal, Hardinge was quite aware that the estimate originally formed would considerably increase with the vigorous prosecution of it.³¹

29. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 166.

30. Letter from J. Thornton to Sir H. Elliot, dated 3rd July, 1851, No. 35, Document No. 217 A of 1851, Despatch No. 35, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 133.

31. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 2 and K.W., of February 1, 1845; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 9, of November 20, 1847; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 4-6, of December 24, 1847.

It was, therefore, evidently very important that the North-Western Provinces Government should not proceed blindly with so costly an undertaking. With the result that as soon as the works had sufficiently advanced to admit of the formation of a more correct estimate of the probable cost, Thomason called upon Lieutenant-Colonel Cautley to furnish a revised estimate. The principles on which the revised estimate were to be drawn up are as follows :

"It is not necessary that the estimate be much in detail. What has already been done will stand at its actual cost—what remains to be done will be calculated from the experience of the past. The cost of establishments should also be shown, and the probable expense of repairs to finished works, which will be incurred before the opening of the Canal. It would be well to contrast the chief items of the original estimates with the corresponding ones of the revised estimate, and to add a brief explanation of the chief discrepancies."³²

The revised estimate, compiled on the abovementioned lines, was furnished on September 16, 1850, by Cautley. The estimated total cost of the works was Rs. 1,41,29,811-7-5, which, as contrasted with the former estimates, had increased.³³ It is also worth noting here that this sum of Rs. 1,41,29,811-7-5 was only the cost of the original works. According to the established usage of the Department, it did not include the cost of the fixed establishment maintained during the course of the work, nor the current repairs of those parts of the work, which were supposed to be completed prior to the opening of the Canal. When Colonel Cautley had prepared the estimate, he expected that the work would be completed in June, 1853. In that case the total cost up to 30th June, 1853, was supposed to be thus :³⁴

Total cost of Works	1,41,29,811- 7- 5
Establishment up to June 30th, 1853	11,55,936-14-11
Current repairs up to June 30th, 1853	2,69,733- 3- 4
Total	1,55,55,481- 9- 7

32. Letter from J. Thornton to Sir H. Elliot, dated 3rd July, 1851, No. 35, Document No. 217 A, of 1851, Despatch No. 35, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 133.

33. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 2 of July 23, 1852.

34. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 133.

But the unusually heavy rains during January and February, 1851, had retarded the progress of the works. Thus Cautley's schedule of work was bound to be disturbed. Under these conditions Cautley drafted a report for the Military Board, dated May 5, 1851, after minutely inspecting all the great works in the upper portion of the Canal, designated as the First Division.³⁵ In this Report Cautley minutely studied the details of the different works in the Northern Division; and thereafter emphasized the following three points :

- 1st. "The apparent impracticability of admitting water into the canal, as was intended early in 1853.
- 2nd. "The interruptions arising from the changes in superintendence, and the difficulties in getting European assistants.
- 3rd. "The absence of any necessity for opening out the Futtygurh (Futtygarh), Boolundshahr (Bulandshahr) and Koel branches previously to the admission of water, and simultaneously with the main trunk."³⁶

Cautley examined all the aspects of the project with great care and thoroughness. That even the minutest detail could not escape his attention is an evidence of circumambient comprehensiveness. He had always calculated that the Solani Aqueduct and the works north of that river would be sufficiently advanced so as to admit water during the cold weather of 1852-53.³⁷ His arrangements, both public and private, were regulated by the certainty of these calculations. He never doubted that the increase in the quantity of work resulting from the enlargement of the buildings at Ranipoor (Ranipur), Puttri (Pathri) and Rutmoo Torrents would retard the accomplishment of his work before the commencement of rainy season in 1853.³⁸ The estimate required by the Government in May 1850, was founded on these conclusions. Appended to this report (Report of May 5, 1851) was the rain gauge return, which was registered at Roorkee during the cold weather of 1850-51, the consequences of successive falls of rain, and yet such repeated intervals which were remarked in the body of that Report were an utter annihilation of all the preconceived arrangements for the progress to

35. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

36. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; also Land Revenue G.G. (5), 1847; also Land Revenue G.G. (5), September 19, 1846.

37. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 136.

38. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

be made during the cold weather. The torrential downpour did not leave a brick on the brick fields and as a result thereof the large parties of masons which had been collected for the aqueduct works, in the early part of the working season, were broken up and disbanded. For many days the supply of bricks was interrupted and when after the middle of February, the rains ceased and the work at the brick kilns was resumed, masons were no longer available to carry on the work. The brick fields were glutted with excessive production and at the inspection of Cautley in the middle of April, the whole of the revetments with the exception of a small portion near the left abutment were without a mason. The aqueduct itself which could easily have employed 400 had only about 200 masons engaged upon it. The state of the brick-fields and the heaps of bricks collected on the works showed too clearly the impediment which thwarted the progress of the work. The demobilization of masons seriously affected all the works of the Northern Division equally. The foundations of Puttri (Pathri) works and at the Rut-moo which were excavated with utmost difficulties would have registered considerable progress, advanced greatly, had it not been for these interruptions. These causes added to the direct effects of unusual floods upon the floorings of the Solani aqueduct, hampered the filling-in of the foundations which had already been excavated. The completion of these works for which Cautley was working with so much perseverance was delayed by a whole year. He, therefore, estimated that the earliest period when the water might be admitted could not be earlier than the cold weather of 1853-54 provided the contingencies similar to those of last cold weather did not recur. He was reasonably apprehensive of the interruptions in the brick manufacturing, for in that eventuality it was impossible to calculate the degree to which the progress of the work would have been slowed down.³⁹

During the previous year, much interruption was also caused by the depletion of the officers as well as the uneasiness created by some proposed changes in the department. Cautley was right in his opinion that the first cause of the interruption could not be easily remedied, although the apprehensions of the service personnel were sufficiently allayed by the abrogation of the general order, dated 22nd February, 1850.⁴⁰

In the Northern Division the failure to pass the required exa-

39. Ibid., pp. 136-137.

40. Ibid., loc. cit.

mination in Mathematics or Hindustani resulted in the discontinuance of service of an Uncovenanted probationary assistant. A rigid application of this rule not only caused the undue hardships to the incumbents, but also thrown Cautley and his department out of gear.⁴¹

In the Second Division the loss suffered by the works by the departure of Lieutenant Fraser on medical leave was incalculable, although the vacancy caused by his departure was well-filled by his assistant Mr. Reid. But Mr. Reid had only one assistant instead of three and this reduction in the number of assistants hampered the steady progress of the workers.⁴²

The Third and Fifth Division under Volk and Lieutenant Whiting were by far the most prosperous of any of the Southern Divisions. Cautley reported that the former was proceeding steadily and well, although Volk was ill and was on leave of absence. The Fifth Division which was equal in strength to the Fourth and Sixth Divisions, put together was, however, not so flourishing. It was handicapped for want of proper assistance. Lieutenant Whiting had the aid of only one officer, Lieutenant Johnston of the Engineers, although, Cautley was of the opinion that the work proceeded in proportion to the means at the disposal of Lieutenant Whiting. Cautley, however, did not seem satisfied with the work in progress at the Fourth and Sixth Divisions for in sharp contrast to the generous word of praise for Volk, he characterised the work of Lieutenant Hodgson and C. W. Hutchinson as "very backward."⁴³

On the third question, i.e., the aqueduct over the valley of the Solani river which consisted of an elevated earthen embankment, Cautley was not so optimistic. The consolidation of the embankment according to his calculation required considerable time. In the first year of its occupation by water with a swift current corroding upon its surface, an ever-vigilant care was required in watching the impact of the current on the bed and the embankment. The permanent establishment on an unyielding bed which could successfully battle against the corrosive effect of the current was an imperative demand upon the masonic strength of the embankment whose consolidation, in the nature of things, could be obtained only by imperceptibly slow degree. For the first five or six years after the ini-

41. Ibid., loc. cit.

42. Ibid., loc. cit.

43. Ibid., pp. 137-138.

tial intake of water the full supply necessary for the numerous branches could not be attainable, because of an inherent risk of accident on the elevated channel. A moderate supply of water which was gradually to be augmented afterwards was the only method of securing the consolidation of the bed. It was, therefore, evident that there was no necessity for hurrying the completion of the subordinate branches. The work of their completion could be carried on deliberately after the Solani Aqueduct had been constructed satisfactorily. The works above the Solani river, especially the super-passage of the Ranipoor (Ranipur) and Putti (Pathri) torrents, where so many obstacles had to be overcome, were recommended to be postponed for the time being, because Cautley was convinced that judged from the point of view of engineering or even the financial arrangements, the object was best gained by the postponement of the excavation of Fattygurh (Fatehgarh), the Koel and even Bulandshahr branches. He, however, conceded that there were reasons that the Bulandshahr branch especially might with advantage be completed as soon as the means to do so could be found.⁴⁴

The postponement of these branches which was recommended by Cautley was a measure aimed at ensuring effective superintendence of the operations on the main line. According to his scheme, all the **Rajbahas** or water-courses were to be completed expeditiously so that water could be channelised through them for the purpose of irrigation at the earliest possible moment. The primary objective of the phased programme chalked out by Cautley was to harness all the energies for the perfection of a portion of the works at a time, and having done so, to proceed deliberately afterwards to the next stage of his plan of construction.⁴⁵

Implementation of Ideas

These observations of Cautley so much impressed Thomason that by his orders on September 30, 1847, there were drawn up, printed and published "General Instructions for the Executive Officers on the Ganges Canal."⁴⁶ The Executive Officers were asked to carry on the work strictly on the advice of Cautley, to maintain the quarterly bills and observe economy.

44. Ibid., pp. 138-139.

45. Ibid., pp. 139-140; also Land Revenue G.G. No. 9, of November 20, 1847; also Land Revenue G.G. No. 4-6, of December 24, 1847.

46. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 142.

He also called upon the Military Board to furnish him with an account of the total expenditure on the canal up to May 1, 1850.⁴⁷ After the accounts were submitted, Thomason laid emphasis on the formation of the **Rajbahas** (water-courses which Cautley also thought to be very important as already referred) from the main trunk of the Canal, so that the water might be available for irrigation as soon as possible after its admission into the Canal. Referring to Thomason's views Thornton wrote to Colonel Cautley on this subject: "From your inspection report on the First Division of the Ganges Canal No. 229 dated May 23rd 1851, addressed to the Military Board, there seems good reason to anticipate that the Canal will be opened in the season of 1853-54, probably towards its close. In that event, irrigation can scarcely commence earlier than for the **Rubbee** following the rains of 1854. If, then, the **Rajbahas** are completed by September or October 1854, the desired object will be accomplished."⁴⁸

Thomason was convinced of the utility of the **Rajbahas** or water-courses and emphasized their construction at an early date as is clear from his own words:

"No delay should take place in the preliminary survey and design of these **Rajbahas**. Much has already perhaps been done in the

47. There was some difficulty in reconciling the account thus furnished with that given by Colonel Cautley, and the latter immediately drew up a minute analysis of the items; making up the sum of Rs. 50,08,484, which had been expended up to May 1st, 1850. The expenditure is classified thus:

Establishment	..	Rs. 4,95,126- 8- 2½
Office Contingent expenses	..	Rs. 10,561- 5- 9
Sundries	..	Rs. 52,118- 6-10
Ordinary Repairs	..	Rs. 29,350- 5- 8½
Original Works	..	Rs. 26,21,742- 3- 6¾
Inefficient Balance	..	Rs. 17,99,585-15- 2½
Total		Rs. 50,08,484-15- 1

vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II p. 113; also Land Revenue G.G. No. 5 of 1847.

48. Letter from J. Thornton to Lieutenant-Colonel P. Cutley, dated 31st July, 1851; Document No. 36, Letter No. 2717 of 1851; Revenue Department No. 476, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 144.

way of preparation for this work; but still the most careful examination of the country must be necessary before the actual determination of the lines of **Rajbahas**. These lines must be assumed, not according to the chance applications, or wishes of the **Zamindars**, but according to the natural features of the country, so as to carry the water farthest and to the greatest advantage."⁴⁹ As a result, in June, 1847, the project was drawn up under which more than 500 miles of **Rajbahas** irrigating 1,80,000 **bighas** per annum were completed.⁵⁰ But the unscientific and arbitrary alignment, in spite of Thomason's specific recommendation for it, led to the water-logging and rise of the sub-soil water level. The plan was, in fact, not advantageous mainly because though it catered for the needs of the cultivators, it did not take into account the configuration of the country.⁵¹ This unsatisfactory progress of **Rajbahas** during the early part of Thomason's regime worried him and, therefore, he issued another special despatch in July 1851, for the implementation of this scheme laying down the following terms and conditions: "Lists may be prepared showing the names, proprietors and capabilities of the villages, which may be supplied from each **Rajbahas**. Estimates of the cost of construction may also be made and its share of the cost apportioned to each village. In the meantime every means should be used to make the system comprehensible to all those whose co-operation will be necessary for its introduction. Scientific treatises should be prepared for the persons who will be required to construct them, popular explanations for those to whom a general acquaintance with the subject only is requisite, and brief modifications to the villagers who will be more witnesses of what will be done. These papers prepared both in English and vernacular languages, may be printed and thrown into extensive circulation not only by the instrumentality of the Canal and Civil Establishments, but also through the educational agency now at work in many districts, which affords peculiar facilities for instructing the people on such subjects. . . . It is probably that, when the **zamindars** are sufficiently apprised of the nature of the scheme, they will consent to the construction of the **Rajbahas** through their lands, themselves retaining the right of proprietorship and not requiring compensation. If they do, their written consent should be taken, and they should be assured in writing of the undisturbed enjoy-

49. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

50. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 105-106.

51. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

ment of all the advantages which are likely to accrue from the retention in their own hands of the proprietary right. If, however, they decline compliance, and no other means exist for the **Rajbaha**, as for the Canal, or any other public purpose, and an annual remission of revenue must be allowed till they require the water for irrigation, and consent to the proposed terms. These terms may of course be made to include not only the cessation of future remissions on account of the land, but the refund of those which have previously been granted."⁵²

But with all these terms, conditions and keenness for the **Rajbahas**, Thomason always kept before him the principle of economy. He said, "Economy will be consulted by foresight and judgment in timing this operation. The actual excavation of the **Rajbaha** must not be commenced so early as to complete the channel before there is water to flow into it, nor delayed so long as to prevent the zamindar from taking advantage for the first regular supply of water."⁵³

The Bye-Product : Roorkee Engineering College

Thomason's keen interest in the construction of the Ganga Canal was motivated also by his desire that the project should afford opportunities for training and turning out engineers for whom the country had to depend on England. This motivation has clearly been brought out by Thornton in his letter to the Military Board : "There is nothing to which the Lieutenant-Governor would more earnestly direct attention than the importance of educating in this country, persons who will be competent to perform these duties (surveys, irrigation, roads, bridges, railways, etc.). So long as we are dependent on England for our agency, the work must be expensive and liable to constant interruption."⁵⁴

With the object of providing a regular supply of well-trained civil engineers, Thomason felt it imperative to expedite the work on the Ganga Canal even though it meant an immediate increase in cost. This regular supply should in his opinion meet the re-

52. Ibid., pp. 145-146.

53. Ibid., loc. cit.

54. J. Thornton to the Military Board, dated 15th September, 1851, Document No. 39, Letter No. 313 A of 1851, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 158; also Thornton to Elliot No. 594 A of September 23. 1847, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of May 26, 1849.

quirements of such undertakings as the Ganga Canal in future. This appraisal of situation led him to work out the idea of establishing a College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee. The circumstances which determined the site of the College have been referred to in the proposal made to the Governor-General on September 23, 1847. "The establishment now forming at Roorkee near the Solani Aqueduct on the Ganges Canal afford peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large workshops and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. There is also a library and a model room. Above all a number of scientific and experienced Engineer officers are constantly assembled on the spot or occasionally resorting thither.

"These Officers, however, all have their appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary to the formation of an expert civil engineer."⁵⁵

It was on account of these compelling reasons that he proposed the establishment of a separate and independent institution at Roorkee under the direction of the local Government in the Education Department for imparting education and training in civil engineering.⁵⁶

The proposal won the immediate approval of the Governor-General.⁵⁷ Lieutenant W. Maclagan of the Royal Bengal Engineers was appointed the first Principal of the Roorkee Engineering Col-

55. Account of the College of Civil Engineers at Roorkee, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, Document No. 75, pp. 304-305; also J. Thornton to H. M. Elliot, dated the 29th August, 1851, Document No. 37; Letter No. 128 A of 1851, General Department No. 158, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 147 to 149.

56. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 147 to 149 and 304-305.

57. Colonel Cautley had also apprehended the same idea of establishing an Engineering College at Roorkee as early as 1843. While applying for a large number of well-educated and skilful artificers, he had said that "they will not only be useful in themselves, but will establish a school for the ultimate supply of efficient workmen to the whole line of Canal." What is here proposed for the Canal, Thomason organised for the whole of Hindustan. The proposal was accorded sanction by Lord Hardinge and a Prospectus of Engineering College was issued in a Gazette Order, dated November 25, 1847; vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; also Muir, W., op. cit., p. 67; For details see the Chapter II, "Growth of Education and Learning."

lege and thus on January 1, 1848, the institution came into being.⁵⁸ In the beginning it was housed in tents.⁵⁹ Since then it kept on developing till it attained the status of a full-fledged Engineering University, the first of its kind in India. Thus the origin of this great institution is intimately connected with the materialization of the Ganga Canal project and undoubtedly it owes its creation to the farsightedness and perseverance of Thomason. It speaks volumes of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Thomason who could perceive the idea of creating an Engineering College out of the materials assembled for the construction of an irrigational plan.

Thomason initiated another scheme of manufacturing mechanical instruments in the Engineering College at Roorkee which need our special consideration.⁶⁰ It was of enormous utility for the Surveyors and Civil Engineers in equipping them with their implements. Under this scheme, the Roorkee Engineering College started manufacturing simpler varieties of instruments such as levelling staves, chains, tripod stands, perambulators, etc.⁶¹ At the initial stages Thomason had set before him three objects:

1. The formation of a depot of efficient instruments obtained from Europe for the ordinary purposes of surveying.
2. The manufacture of the simpler instruments and articles, which can be readily made in this country.
3. The repair of all instruments of any make or shape.⁶²

The instrument scheme proved to be economical and it put to an end a lot of botheration of requisitioning instruments, etc., from England. Thus it was indeed the far-seeing sagacity of Tho-

58. Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847.

59. Ibid.

60. The most useful part of this scheme was the repair of instruments. A very efficient establishment though existed in Calcutta for this purpose, yet much time was lost and risk incurred in sending instruments there from the North-Western Provinces. So why Thornton says that "the wants of this part of the country seem to be sufficient to warrant the maintenance here (Roorkee) of a similar establishment. Its operations would be peculiarly valuable, when conducted in the immediate proximity and under the observation of the students in Roorkee College." vide Thornton to the Military Board, dated 29th July, 1850, No. 398 A, General Department, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 515.

61. Ibid., loc. cit.

62. Ibid., loc. cit.

mason which first anticipated the necessity of training engineers and producing engineering instruments in the country itself in which they were to be employed.

The Operation of the Plan

The efforts of Thomason fructified on April 8, 1854, when the main line of the Canal, extending over 525 miles in length, measuring in its greatest depth ten feet, and in its extreme breadth 170 feet, was opened by John Colvin.⁶³ It was the biggest Canal not only of the province but also of the country as a whole.⁶⁴ It is still one of the largest single irrigational works in India. Today it provides irrigation facilities to nearly 24 lakh acres of land annually, besides energizing 3,000 tube-wells through the 45,000 K.Ws. of electricity that it produces. Many a town and city receive electricity from this source. It has sustained the western parts of Uttar Pradesh for over a hundred years. From the point of view of hydraulics and engineering, it occupies a unique place in the country.⁶⁵

Thomason's ingenuity and awareness of the needs of the people manifested themselves in ample measure in the materialisation of another project which he undertook shortly afterwards, that is the remodelling of the Eastern Jamuna Canal and the straightening of its tortuous course.⁶⁶ It should be borne in mind that its original builders had not taken into consideration the uneven surfaces, sometimes very deep and sometimes extremely slopy, in its long course. It traversed through high level between the Jamuna and the Hindun and avoided the Khadar or valley of the rivers. Naturally, water would not flow in required directions. In order to remove these defects he managed a grant of about one and a half

63. Colvin, A., John Russell Colvin, p. 167.

64. "Starting from 2½ miles north of Haridwar, the Canal proceeded its circular course to the south-east of Aligarh—180 miles. At Aligarh the Canal is bifurcated, one going towards Kanpur—170 miles, and the other towards Hamirpur—180 miles. From Haridwar to Aligarh, three branch lines took water: to Fatehgarh—170 miles; to Bulandshahr—60 miles; and to Koel—5 miles, thus making a total of 810 miles for the whole Canal. Including the distributaries and branches, its total length, however, was 3,800 miles." vide Triennial Review, p. 30; also Kaye, J.W., op. cit., pp. 287 sqq.

65. Hundred Years of Ganga Canal, U.P. Information Department, p. 3.

66. Home Public Proceedings, No. 31 to 39, of March 11, 1853.

lakh of rupees from the Governor-General and the Court of Directors. To begin with, he utilised the services of Lieutenant W. E. Morton, the Superintendent, to work on the design and prepare a report on it, in such a manner as to be easily understandable to a common man. A report entitled "Notes on the Levels of the Eastern Jumna Canal, explanatory of a Project for completing the Regulation of the Slope of the Canal bed,"⁶⁷ was published to publicise and popularise the scheme. These 'Notes' were prepared by Colonel Cautley, but before the project could materialise, he was promoted to the post of Chief Superintendent of Canals and was succeeded by Lieutenant Baird-Smith who brought the remodelling of the project to its completion in accordance with the plan.⁶⁸ While the work on the Canal was in progress, Thomason with a view to making an on the spot investigation passed down the course of the Eastern Jamuna Canal right from Saharanpur to its reunion with the Jamuna opposite Delhi, and recorded his own observations on the existing nature of things as well as on improvements that could be effected in future. He observed that :

"The great difficulties which resulted from the imperfect designs and faulty execution of this Canal in the first instance have now been in a great measure overcome. The masonry works in the Northern Division have been rebuilt or strengthened, and the slope of the bed along the whole course has been regulated, or arrangements have been so made that the regulation will be effected in a certain time, and according to a determined manner. . . . The sickness, which some time ago formed the subject of complaint along parts of the Canal, is now greatly lessened. This is mainly owing to a general improvement of climate throughout the country. The sickness was not before confined to the neighbourhood of the Canal, and its mitigation or cessation are observable elsewhere as well as here. Nevertheless, it may have been aggravated by the malicious influences which prevailed in the immediate neighbourhood of the Canal, and it is still incumbent on the Government to make every possible exertion to lessen those influences, by removing every impediment to the drainage of the country, and by so strengthening the banks as to prevent the irregular escape of the water, and its accumulation in marshes in the vicinity. Much has already been done towards effecting this by underdraining the swamps and water-

67. This Report was issued on 1st May, 1852, at Agra, by Lieutenant W.E. Morton, Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canal, vide Muir, W., op. cit., p. 57.

68. Ibid., loc. cit.

courses wherever that is necessary. A drain has been made to remove the water from Urnuthmow Swamp (Jheel). The same is now in progress for draining Hingowlee Swamp (Jheel); but there are the Gundowra and other Jheels, to which nothing has yet been done; and the tunnel under the Canal, which was proposed by Lieutenant B. Smith for removing the water that accumulates near Bynswal has not yet been commenced. The cut for draining Shamlee has not been completed in a satisfactory manner. That work should be carried out completely, the course of the Shamlee Nullah being straightened and widened, till a sufficient slope has been attained to prevent the accumulation of water near the town. This is quite practicable and should not be delayed. . . . The completion of the several main irrigation lines (Rajbuhās) now in progress, and the removal of most of the direct irrigation outlets from the banks of the Canal, is a most important step in improvement; but the progress forward of the silt which accumulated in this portion of the Canal, and which has a constant tendency to raise the bed, and so to cause rupture of the banks, proceeds but slowly. The bar of stiff clay near Shamlee, which impedes the free flow of the water southward, has never been removed and the tortuosities of the Canal, where it follows the course of the Shamlee Nullah from Abba, have never been lessened. Much still remains to be done on this portion of the Canal."⁶⁹

Thomason also advised the authorities of the Eastern Jamuna Canal to prepare and publish an accurate and comprehensive map of the Canal because he felt that "no complete map of the Canal has yet been published. The sketch map, for the printing of which authority was given by the orders of September 7th, 1847, is very inaccurate and insufficient. Materials in part exist for the construction of a better map. These must be completed, and the result should be published. The map should be on the scale of two miles to an inch, and should shew all village boundaries and village sites, all roads, and water-courses both natural and artificial, with all masonry works on the Canal designated as they stand on the Canal books. The colouring of the map should show the revenue divisions of the country, and distinguishing lines should separate the course of the Canal into the several divisions which limit the jurisdictions of its officers."⁷⁰

69. Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor, N.W.P., on the Eastern Jamuna Canal, cited in Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 389 to 392.

70. Ibid., p. 394.

These observations of Thomason show not only his immense interest in laying out a sound canal system but also his thoroughness in furnishing the exact data about it. He wanted to do all he could to improve the navigation of Jamuna and also to make the Eastern Jamuna Canal conducive to the comfort of the people.⁷¹ For instance, he says, "There are flights of steps (Ghats) attached to two or three of the bridges;" but in future Ghats should be made a constant appendage to every new bridge that is built, and they should be added on to the old bridges near the large towns, and wherever they are likely to be useful. In like manner, drinking troughs or reservoirs should be provided for the cattle, wherever this can be conveniently done. Such appendages to a great public work like the canal cost little, and show a thoughtfulness for the comfort of the people which cannot but have a beneficial effect."⁷²

It was during this very period that Cautley had presented a project of altering the very course of the Eastern Jamuna Canal in the Central Division. But Thomason, due to lack of funds and his exclusive concentration on the completion of the Ganga Canal which he had given top priority to, did not encourage the scheme. How shrewdly and politely he turned down this proposal is clear from the following words:

"I am perfectly satisfied myself of the expediency of this measure, but under existing rules it must be reported to the Court of Directors for sanction. I would print the papers and forward it. But the report is scarcely complete enough in itself for the press as it stands. The project is in a degree incomplete, for the actual line to be followed has not been surveyed nor laid down. Ampler reference to former correspondence, and a fuller statement of the case is also necessary, to enable persons who are not familiar with the subject to understand the project. The matter does not press. Irrigation is rapidly going on and extending. Our hands are full at present, and we are ill-prepared to enter on new undertakings. Delay will

71. Home Public Proceedings No. 24 to 28, of November 30, 1844.

72. As at the Muharampore Bridge V, vide Para 189 of Cautley's 'Notes', cited in Thomason's Minute, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 395.

73. Ibid., loc. cit.

be of advantage in enabling the Executive Officer better to mature, his plan."⁷⁴

Swayed by these considerations Cautley took back the paper to recast them. In this connection Thomason's advice to Cautley was "to reduce the scale of his large map, so as to bring them into a convenient size for publication, and also to omit the designs for the masonry works, which are of the ordinary construction, already given in the printed notes. These latter render the publication expensive, and they are only required by the Military Board."⁷⁵ But this proposal could not be given a practical shape during his time.

Thomason evinced great enthusiasm in a number of minor though very useful irrigation schemes. The first was the Kutta Putta Canal at the western extreme of Dehra Dun.⁷⁶ Similar canals were constructed at Bareilly and Saharanpur.⁷⁷ His proposal to drain the eastern portion of the Dun Canal for removing swamps also materialised in 1845.⁷⁸ In the management of the Banganga and Nagina Canals too, Thomason tried his utmost, but could not achieve anything outstanding.⁷⁹

Through all his irrigational projects can be gleaned his anxiety to devise a machinery which would bring all the establishments on the Canals under a proper control. For this he recommended that a vigilant and active body of guardians and collectors must be maintained to protect the work from damage, to ensure the fair distribution of the water and to collect the Canal dues. Regarding the personnel in control of the establishments, Thomason felt that :

"These men, from the nature of the duties they perform, necessarily are possessed of great power both to injure and to benefit. False complaints with a view to the infliction of unjust fines can be guarded against and prevented without much difficulty; but bribery, to obtain the partial distribution of water even to ensure a just supply, cannot be repressed without the greatest vigilance. Every

74. Thomason's Memorandum, No. 888 A, dated October 16th, 1850, Document No. 51, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 211.

75. Ibid., loc. cit.

76. Home Public Proceedings, No. 41 of July 17, 1847.

77. Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos. 38 to 63 of September 14, 1849.

78. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 4-7, of June 28, 1845; also No. 2-7, of August 2, 1845.

79. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 26 of February 17, 1843; also No. 19-25 of May 3, 1845.

possible care should be used in the selection of respectable men. They should be treated well and their pay be gradually raised as the funds of the Canal increase. . . . I am not satisfied that the collection of the water rent might not, under an improved system, be advantageously transferred from Canal Officers to the Collectors of land revenue. Wherever the contract system prevails, and the demand from a village is fixed, the water-rent might be consolidated with the land revenue and collected simultaneously. The advantage is that the landed proprietor would be free from the double demand on the part of two separate establishments, to which he is at present subject, and that the establishment would have more leisure than at present for their peculiar duties in guarding the works and distributing the water. The process for collecting the land revenue and the water-rent is the same, and it is not impossible that the Canal Officers may find themselves perplexed when they are called upon to enforce the payment of water-rent from contumacious and litigious proprietors."⁸⁰

Thomason's main idea was to ensure the proper distribution of water, to collect water dues and to avoid overlapping of functions of the Canal Officers and the land revenue collectors. His scheme had also the advantage of eradicating the possibility of double tax collection from the landed proprietors.

Regarding the salaries and emoluments of the staff of the Canal Department, Thomason had very strong views. Communicating his views to the Military Board, Thornton writes that "if your Board wish to draw into your employment of liberal education and high scientific attainments, it is necessary that a liberal scale of remuneration should be fixed."⁸¹ He was very critical of the rules of February 22nd, 1850, under which the assistants employed on the construction of the Ganga Canal had to suffer due to the reduction of the salaries and emoluments. To have an idea about the reaction of Thomason, Thornton writes that, "the Lieutenant-Governor altogether concurs, and considers that the reduction of the salaries and emoluments of the assistants now engaged in the Canal Department would be unjust to them, and most impolitic in its effects

80. Thomason's Minute cited in Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 395-396.

81. J. Thornton to the Military Board, dated 17th January, 1845, Document No. 66 A; Revenue No. 108, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 387.

on the expenditure of the Government."⁸² In order to maintain the efficiency of the canal administration and stop corruption and bribery, etc., Thomason was in favour of giving special salaries to its officers and engineers.⁸³ How particular he was in imparting training and recruiting the able Indians on high salaries is clear from the observations he had made on his return from an inspection visit to Saharanpur in connection with Ganga Canal :

"There are now entertained on this Canal establishment many Lallas in charge of the several works, both on the main channel and on the lesser branches, who receive a small salary, partly from the Government, and partly from the zamindars whose water-courses they make or keep in repair. Many of these men are very active and intelligent, but deficient in education and scientific knowledge, conscious of their defects, and desirous to remove them by application and study.

"On the other hand, we possess, in our Colleges of Delhi and Agra, several young men of very high mathematical attainment acquainted with the theory of Civil Engineering, and of the principles on which it rests, but destitute of the practical knowledge and skill which can alone render their services as Executive Officers immediately valuable.

"It is evident that, if we can bring the former and the latter of these together under the immediate superintendence of an officer like Lieutenant Smith, the one class may impart to the other the knowledge, either of theory or of practice, which when found united go to produce a really valuable and useful officer.

"In order to bring successively under tuition the best of the Lallas now employed on the works, Lieutenant Smith will require to have some money at his command that he may provide substitutes to take their places, whilst they are absent from their works. He is of the opinion that 30 rupees per mensem will be sufficient to effect this, and to enable him always to have two or three of the more experienced Lallas, as well as others who would be mere learners, under his more immediate superintendence. This sum may be very properly placed at his disposal, and would constitute a charge on the Canal Funds."⁸⁴

82. J. Thornton to H.M. Elliot, dated 7th March, 1851, No. 820 of 1851, Document No. 30, Revenue Department No. 74, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 114.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

84. J. Thornton to the Military Board, dated 17th January, 1845, Document No. 66 A, Revenue Department No. 108; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.

Minor Irrigation Schemes

Thomason also stressed on the repair of embankments, construction of tanks and reservoirs for irrigation on the lines of Lieutenant-Colonel Dixon in Ajmere and Merwarrah.⁸⁵ On these activities at Ajmer a detailed Report was published in 1841.⁸⁶ Thomason recommended the Dixon scheme for the neighbourhood of Delhi as best suited for implementation. To be more specific the tract of the country lying south of Delhi, or rather Shahjahanabad, and extending from the Nujjufgurh Jheel to the Jamuna, covering a space of between 100 and 200 square miles,⁸⁷ was mainly to be brought under this scheme by Thomason. In his Memorandum of 15th February 1848, he gives the following reasons for carrying out this scheme in the Delhi territory:

"The whole of this ground consists of low hills and of slopes, formed by the gradual slope to the Jumna of that spur of the Mewat hills, which throws off the waters of the Sahibee Nullah, and the Nujjufgurh Jheel, so that they fall into the Jumna north of Delhi.

"This tract of country has formerly been the site of a dense population, and is covered with the ruins of former great and wealthy cities. It is full of the great interest to the historian and archaeologist, and its minute examination and delineation will add to the knowledge of what is past, as well as provide for the improvement of the present inhabitants.

"Most praiseworthy, but feeble and desultory, efforts have been made by the local officers, with the small resources at their command, to restore two of the old embankments, which are situated near the villages of Khirkee and Chutterpore ...

"This Khirkee bund was first repaired by Mr. C. Grant, the Collector, in 1841, but only by means of prisoners. The embank-

85. Home Public Proceedings No. 10 of January 17, 1846; also Thomason's Memorandum regarding embankments in the District, dated 15th February, 1848; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 378.

86. Home Public Proceedings, No. 2 of July 3, 1847; also Memorandum of 15th February, 1848, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 378.

87. Home Public Proceedings, No. 2 of July 3, 1847; also Memorandum of 15th February, 1848; vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 379.

ment has since repeatedly burst, and been repaired. No grant of money has ever been made by Government for this work..."⁸⁸

The arguments advanced by Thomason will thus appear to be quite convincing. He was quite right in his conviction that the needs of Delhi and the adjoining area could well be served by a number of minor projects he had initiated.

It was during this time that the following collections in connection with Khirkee bund were made from the cultivators at the rate of four annas a beegha of 3,025 square yards for all land, which was submerged by the water.⁸⁹

1252 F. 1845-16	..	..	42-12- 7
1253 F. 1846-47	..	..	14-10- 5
1254 F. 1847-48	..	..	89- 7-10

146-14-10

Of the total sum, 71-13 rupees were expended in building a pukka sluice gate, and the rest in repairs. Thomason's idea was that "if this work were thoroughly repaired, it would irrigate about 1,000 beeghas, and would yield at the above rate a revenue of about 250 rupees per annum."⁹⁰

For the repair of the Chutterpore embankment also Thomason's Government gave a grant of Rs. 300 in 1843.⁹¹ He directed to undertake in a well-concerted and scientific way the repair operations at the large ruined embankment site at Khanpore Mukboolabad.⁹² Similarly, repairs of the embankments at Bareilly,⁹³ Saharanpur⁹⁴ and Rohilkhand⁹⁵ and Bhabar tract of Kumaon were undertaken.⁹⁶

88. Memorandum of 15th February, 1848, Ibid., loc. cit.

89. Ibid., loc. cit.

90. Ibid., loc. cit., also Home Public Proceedings, No. 10 of January 17, 1846.

91. Memorandum of 15th February, 1848, op. cit., p. 380.

92. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Land Revenue Proceedings No. 5-14 of April 8, 1848.

93. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 38 of September 14, 1849.

94. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 63 of September 14, 1849.

95. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 5-14 of April 8, 1848.

96. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 17 of November 1, 1844.

The established practice demanded that such repairs should have been undertaken by the people themselves for their own benefit. Thomason thought otherwise and he had some very strong grounds for such a departure which have been referred to in one of his despatches :

"Even if the works lay wholly within the properties of individuals who would reap the whole profit, there is neither capital nor enterprise for the undertaking. But when the lands which will come under irrigation lie as they do in many villages, each of which is owned by communities of needy cultivators, all of whom are tenacious of their own rights, and jealous of any interference with them by their brethren, it is evident that the work will never be accomplished unless the Government come forward. The designs must be matured, the capital must be advanced, and the great portion of the risk must be borne by the Government, which will find its return in the greater security of its present revenue and in the increased wealth and prosperity of the people, which cannot fail beneficially to affect the general resources of the State. It will be sufficient if the people contribute enough to pay the ordinary interest of 5 per cent on the outlay and the cost of ordinary repairs. The established rate of 4 annas on the *beegah* of 3,025 square yards, for all land submerged by the water, will probably suffice for this purpose, but if not, they will probably consent to pay 6 annas or even 8 annas a *beegah*, when once they feel confidence in the adequacy and permanence of the works. They cannot be expected to come forward liberally in support of the undertakings, till they see more vigorous and successful efforts made to supply their wants, than any such they have yet witnessed."⁹⁷

These observations of Thomason bear it out that he was extremely practical in his approach and did not want to impose upon the people against their conviction the share of the burden which the Government was to bear in carrying out the philanthropic schemes for the general welfare of the people.

How convinced was Thomason of the usefulness of construction and repairs of the old irrigation devices like tanks, wells and reservoirs, can be judged from the following extract :

97. Thomason's Memorandum of 15th February, 1848, op. cit., pp. 381-382.

"By their means, much land that is now waste may yield valuable crops; and the people, who are now unsettled and predatory in their habits, may be reclaimed and turned into thrifty and prosperous agriculturists. The remains of such tanks are still to be traced over the face of the country. It is possible that some of them were constructed for ornamental, rather than for agricultural, purposes; but there is no doubt that many of them, if now restored, would be most valuable in extending and improving the cultivation."⁹⁸

A number of pucca wells and tanks were constructed in most of the eastern parts of the provinces, whereas Jheels and reservoirs were in majority in the western and northern parts.⁹⁹ Thus Thomason had a wider vision to appreciate the needs of the peasantry and those of the navigation and tried to harness all the resources at his disposal to explore the possibilities of constructing, moulding, extending, diverting and repairing a number of watery highways and other irrigation projects at different places. His method throughout had the most searching and practical steering clear of the time-worn practices and cumbersome routine methods. He was quick to take decisions and quicker still to implement them. As a good administrator he could not but see that the good of the people specially of the peasantry wrought through beneficial public works was the sure guarantee of the people's loyalty for the British regime in India.

Trees Too Have A Story

The forestry of the province also did not escape the attention of Thomason. He realised how vitally important the forests are to human society not only as a source of timber, firewood and other products, but also a factor protecting land against erosion and ensuring a regular turnover of water.

The major portion of the forests at that time was and even today is found in the Himalayas and the sub-montane tract, followed by a much smaller proportion in the Central Indian plateau region, mainly comprising Jhansi, Banda, Varanasi and Mirzapur districts. Ever since the forests of the area then covered by the

98. Ibid., pp. 378-379.

99. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 47, November 19, 1850; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 2, of July 3, 1847.

North-Western Provinces have been classified under the following heads:¹⁰⁰

(a) **Alpine Forests :**

These forests are characterised by typically dense growth of small crooked trees or large shrubs with patches of coniferous over-wood. 'Rai' (*Picea Morinda*, Link), 'Morinda' (*Abies Pindrow*, Spach.), and 'Bhojpatra' (*Betula Utilis*, Don.) usually form the over-wood and 'Burans' (*Rhododendron arboreum*, Sm.) etc., the underwood.

(b) **Himalayan Moist-Temperate Forests :**

This formation extends along the whole length of the Himalayas where rainfall is usually more than 40 inches. Coniferous trees here are more abundant, their chief species being 'Rai' (*Picea Morinda*, Link), 'Morinda' (*Abies Pindrow*, Spach.), 'Deodar' (*Cedrus Deodar*, Loud.), 'Kali' (*Pinus Excelsa*, Wall.), and 'Serai' (*Cupressus Torulosa*, Don.). The main broad-leaved trees found in this area are 'Banj' (*Quercus iricana*, Roxb.), 'Kharshu' (*Quercus semicarpifolia*, smith) and 'Moru' (*Quercus dilatata*, Lindl.), oaks.

(c) **Himalayan Sub-Tropical Pine Forests :**

This type of forests used to be, as at present, the most extensive forests, next only to those of 'Sal' (*Shorea rubusta*, Gartn.) Their main feature is the almost pure stands of 'Chir' (*Pinus longifolia*, Roxb.) extending from 3,000 feet to about 7,000 feet.

(d) **Tropical Moist-Deciduous Forests :**

These have always been confined to the sub-montane and 'Tarai' regions and to some limited extent to the Eastern Vindhya Regions. They can mainly be divided into almost pure forests of 'Sal' (*Shorea rubusta*, Gartn.) and the miscellaneous deciduous forests. 'Sal' forests (*Shorea robusta*, Gartn.), very extensive and gregarious, form the most valuable forests of this part of the country. The principal associates of 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta*, Gartn.), are 'Sain' (*Terninalia Tomentosa*, W. and A in Dun; *Ilex Doniana* DC. in West Garhwal) and 'Dhauri' (*Largest-roemia parviflora*, Roxb.).

100. For details see Gupta, B.L., Forest Flora of the Chakrata, Dehra Dun and Saharanpur Forest Divisions, pp. 97, 466, 518 and 519; also Osmaston, A.E., A Forest Flora of Kumaon, pp. 45 to 567; also Charles McCann, 100 Beautiful Trees of India, pp. 32-33.

Various other species of the mixed miscellaneous forests which are also of considerable industrial importance are 'Phalud' (*Mitragyna Parviflora*, Korth.), 'Sema' (*Bombax malabaricum* DC.), 'Khunju' (*Leptodeza Sericea*, Miq.), 'Guntal' (*Trewia nudiflora*), 'Khair' (*Acacia catechu*, Willd.) and 'Shisham' (*Delbergia Sisso*, Roxb.).

(e) Tropical Dry-Deciduous Forests :

Though it includes 'Sal' (*Shorea robusta*, Gartn.) also yet the typical species of this category are 'Khair' (*Acacia catechu*, Willd.), 'Sain' (*Terminalia Tomentosa*, W and A in Dun; *Ilex Doniana*, DC. in West Garhwal), 'Bakli' (*Anogeissus latifolia*), 'Tendu' (*Diospyros Tomentosa*, Roxb.), 'Kardhai' (*Anogeissus* species) and 'Salai' (*Soswellia serrata*, Roxb.).

Preservation of Forest Wealth

Thomason came out with a number of schemes and measures to be adopted for the careful preservation and judicious utilization of the forest right from the very beginning. The first thing that he noticed was that part of the forest land had already been settled with the zamindars, and part of it reserved to the Government.¹⁰¹ But it was strange that in either case the legality of the possession had no records whatsoever to substantiate it.¹⁰² This did not interest Thomason. He accepted the facts of possession as they then existed and started to give effect to a number of schemes which might ensure the possession. To quote him, "It is quite immaterial now to enquire whether this was done on any consistent or well-regulated principle. The settlement has been sanctioned, and the waste land given in proprietary right to those with whom the settlement was made. It is necessary to fix the limits of the land so settled that each proprietor may feel assured of the extent of his property and, being secure of his title, may apply himself to its reclamation."¹⁰³

For fixing the limits of the divided forest land, Thomason recommended that the boundaries be laid down and marked from the Revenue survey maps, and provision be made for letting the remaining Government jungle on known terms, as applicants for it

101. Thomason's Despatches of Forest Round; No: 5, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 359.

102. Ibid., loc. cit.

103. Ibid., loc. cit.

presented themselves. He also proposed for solving the difficulty to be faced in marking off the boundaries of the then existing settled **Mahals** on account of the density of the forests. It was an expensive process. But Thomason suggested that wherever the **Mahal** was conterminous with the reserved Government forest, half the expense must be borne by the Government and might be charged in the Contingent Bill, sanctioned by the competent authority according to its amount. He was of the opinion that the mode of laying down the boundary should be taken up at the nearest known point, and work on it should be done with a chain and theodolite round the village. If the working table or field book could be obtained, so much the better; if not, the angles and distances must be taken up from the village map as accurately as possible.¹⁰⁴ Thomason elaborated his point with greater precision in his Despatch No. 5 on the 'Forest Round' which runs as follows :

"Make a village map on the scale of so many jureeb to the inch, giving the Ameen a scale of equal parts (paimana). Instruct them also how to use a plain table, on which the map should be mounted with a compass attached. The process is simple by which the village would be recovered in this matter. Check-measurements with a jureeb in different parts would prevent the accumulation of error. Some training will be necessary, but that may be allowed in all proximated operations."¹⁰⁵

Regarding the forest land reserved for the Government, Thomason wanted it to be divided into convenient parcels not exceeding 4,000 acres each, and offered on the terms sanctioned by the Court of Directors and Government. These pieces of land were required to be sold to the highest bidder, and the purchaser was to have complete possession of wood, grass and everything attached to the land.¹⁰⁶

Thus after settling the problem of forest land between the **zamin-dars** and the Government, Thomason paid special attention towards the forests of the Kumaon hills. The levy of these forest dues in some districts along the foot of the hills had for a time being discontinued, but was resumed soon after because their discontinuance had afforded no advantage to the people, but had given rise to dis-

104, Ibid., loc. cit.; also Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 10, of August 3, 1847.

105. Thomason's Despatch of Forest Round, No. 5, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 360.

106. For details of the terms see the Sudder Board's circular No. IV, Section IV, dated January 22, 1845, Ibid., loc. cit.

putes, and groundless claims to Sayer rights. It was, therefore, determined to reassert the right of the Government to all spontaneous products from unappropriated tracts of land. For ascertaining the value of these claims and regulating the levy, the whole land was declared **Kham**. This necessitated some sort of concert between the authorities of Rohilkhand and Kumaon, on both sides of the boundary line.¹⁰⁷ Thomason issued a Memorandum dated the 10th February, 1851, aiming at solving the difficulties arising out of the settlement.¹⁰⁸ In this Memorandum he dwelt upon two kinds of forests dues :

- "1. Those which are levied at certain points in the forest throughout its extent, such as the pasturage dues from cattle, levied at the enclosures (goths) where they are herded by night, and the dues upon **chunam** and **catechu** (**Bhuttee Koyrar**), which are levied at the places where these items are manufactured from lime stone and **khyr trees**."
- "2. Those which are levied on the removal of the articles of produce from the forest along the usual routes; such as the dues from timber and wood of all sorts, from bamboos and wax, honey, charcol and lac, etc."¹⁰⁹

He recommended two different systems to be worked out for realization of these two categories of dues. For the first category he wanted them to be collected by the Collector of each district within his own boundaries. The dues under the second class were more of the nature of customs duties, and they were levied upon articles passing from the hills to the plains. Thomason wanted these dues to be collected only once and at a point where the collection was the easiest. For this purpose Thomason discussed at length as to how and where the dues would be collected in a par-

107. This arrangement was made at Khera near Bhamowree on January 10, 1851, in the presence of Mr. F. H. Robinson, the Commissioner of Rohilkhand and Kumaon, the District Officers in Kumaon, Bareilly and Moradabad, and the Superintendent of Irrigation in Rohilkhand, vide Thomason's Memorandum, dated 10th February, 1851, Document No. 25, Revenue Department No. 71, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 101.

108. Copies of this Memorandum were issued to the **Sadar Board of Revenue**, and to the Commissioners of Kumaon and Rohilkhand for their information and guidance and for communication by the latter to their subordinates. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

ticular tract. For separate tracts of forests for the second category. Thomason made the following recommendations in his Memorandum :

1. "In the tract between the Surdah and Sookhee, there is a considerable tract of jungle waste, in the district of Pilibhit, as well as in Kumaon. The lines of communication also converge from the hills to the plain. The dues then on the articles taxed on transit can be most easily levied in the Pilibheet district. An arrangement to this effect will, therefore, be concerted between Captain Ramsay and Mr. Drummond."

2. "Between the Sookhee and the Kosillah, opposite to Pergunnahs Kalipoorree, Roodurpoor, Gudderpoor and Bazpoor, there is scarcely any jungle tract in the Bareilly and Moradabad districts. The divergence of the road from the mountain passes, and the position of the Ranipoor Jaghire, all render it desirable that the levy on articles in transit remain, as at present, in the hands of the Kumaon authorities, at convenient points along the foot of the hills, and that no such levies take place in the plains. Care must be taken to connect this line with the preceding on the Sookhee river, so as to prevent the escape of the articles between the two."

3. "North of Kasheepoor and Thakoordwara, in the Moradabad district, some difficulties exist. The main levy is made at the foot of the hills by the Kumaon authorities, but there is a valuable forest tract at Seonathpoor, in Jussoor which requires care. It is believed that the best course should be to close this tract till the timber has acquired some growth. On this understanding, the Collector of Moradabad should abstain from levying any such duties, and direct his attention to closing the forest, prohibiting the cutting of wood, and blocking up the approaches.... Meanwhile the dues may be levied as heretofore by the Hill authorities, and the Collector of Moradabad will be careful not to interfere with those goods which have already paid duty in Kumaon. He will also entirely abstain from the levy of such dues in his district, unless on further enquiry, he finds their retention on this portion of the frontier just and necessary. In that case, he will concert with the Senior Assistant in Kumaon for the discontinuance of the present levy, and its removal to a line further south."

4. In the Bijnore district the levy of all Forest dues is entirely in the hands of the Collector of the district. The Assistant in Garhwal has no establishment or posts, at the foot of the hills, which

could manage such collections. This item of revenue is now considerable, and is well collected by Mr. Dick, the present Collector of Bijnor. No change in the existing system is requisite."¹¹⁰

Thus Thomason's scheme clearly demarcated the jurisdiction of the authorities of the hills and those of the plains for tax collection, thus eliminating the chances of undue ruptures between the two. It also ensured against duplication in the task of tax collecting and also against evasion from taxes caused by any uncertainty of jurisdiction.

Thomason wanted direct management of the forest dues, because he was very sure that it would lead to a considerable increase in the Revenue derived therefrom, and would thus afford a fund for further developing the resources of the country. Assuming, as a standard, the average income of the three years before the commencement of the direct management, all the surplus receipts above that sum in any year might be earmarked for improving the roads through the forest lands, according to the availability of means, provided that no accumulation took place. For this purpose Thomason recommended special rules necessary for each section of the line. They are :¹¹¹

1. "Between the Surdah and Sookhee, the surplus net collections will be divided into five parts, of which one will be held by the Collector of Bareilly for the improvement of the roads through his portion of the forest, and the remaining four parts will be paid over to the Senior Assistant in Kumaon, for opening out the forests in his portion of the tract.

2. "Between the Sookhee and the Gurhwal frontier, all the surplus collected by him will be held by the Senior Assistant of Kumaon available for the opening of roads in his forests. Any surplus which may be obtained by Collectors of Bareilly and Moradabad, in their districts, will be similarly held available by them.

3. "In Bijnore, Mr. Dick is well-known to be most active in opening out his forest tracts, and in devising machinery for sawing up the timber to the greatest advantage. The funds now placed at his disposal for these purposes will further his views."

He had also laid down certain rules about the exemption from payment on commodities which produced little, such as drugs, lac, dyes, etc., and the permission for the free export of head-loads of the

110. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

111. Ibid., p. 100.

more bulky articles, such as wood, grass, etc. As regards the former it was observed that no one except the Government, had any right to the spontaneous products of the soil. No hardship of injury should be inflicted on any person by the levy. As regards the latter the poorer classes in the neighbourhood of the chokees should be allowed the privilege of carrying head-loads for their own consumption. It would be unjust and oppressive to prevent this. But the exemption of head-loads from payment of the dues must not lead to evasion of the levy, wherever it might rightly be demanded. No change in this practice hitherto observed in these respects should be made without explanation of the grounds, and a reference to the Government.¹¹²

The Commissioners of Rohilkhand and Kumaon were entrusted the task of carrying out the above instructions in their respective jurisdictions. Their main responsibility was to report annually on the receipts and expenditure of the whole line during the season, as soon as possible after its closure. They would cause the surplus proceeds of each year, that remained unexpended in the following year, to be carried to the credit of Government under the head of Profit and Loss, so as to prevent any accumulation of funds.¹¹³

Of all the sylvan produce, Thomason was most interested in preserving the timber in the sub-Himalayan range. The prevailing system in this regard authorised the public to cut the timber as they liked, only paying to the Government the price of it in the shape of a duty on its removal from the forests. Though for the Government this system was advantageous in the sense that it derived a considerable nett revenue¹¹⁴ from their forests and the supply of the wood too remained as regular and well-adapted to the wants

112. Ibid., p. 99.

113. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

114. A reference to the revenue account shows the following credits to Government from the forests between the Jamuna and the Sarda :

1839-40	..	31,574- 8- 4
1840-41	..	49,704- 9-10
1841-42	..	51,119- 8- 4
1842-43	..	38,596-10- 0
1843-44	..	43,346- 4- 0
1844-45	..	49,785- 8- 0

vide Thomason's letter to the Military Board, dated the 17th October, 1845, No. 108, Document No. 26/4472, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I. p. 183.

of the society, as the state of the forests allowed, yet it had its disadvantages also. The worst of them was that the timber was likely to be cut without due regard to economy. To quote Thornton, "Young trees will be unnecessarily destroyed when older would answer better; and those trees which are rightly taken are not cut to the best advantage. Such is undoubtedly the case."¹¹⁵ The result of it was that most of the Pulleva forests were denuded of their trees.¹¹⁶ To do away with this malpractice, Thomason suggested that the Government should come forward itself as the proprietor of the forests, and decide the trees to be cut, and the price to be fixed. In regard to this innovation Thornton writes, "the Government must maintain a large and efficient establishment in a very insalubrious country. The person who directs this establishment must have an intimate knowledge of the resources of the forest, and an enlarged acquaintance with the wants of the people, and the state of the timber market. Having this knowledge he must also possess the judgment, temper and discretion, to enable him rightly and impartially, to apply his knowledge and he must also possess vigilance and industry to secure that the principles he lays down are rightly applied. If such an agency can be secured, the object will be attained. Wood will continue to rise in price, and large timbers yearly become more difficult to procure, but the increment of the one and the other will be slower than at present."¹¹⁷

As a first measure to effect this change the farms of the Doon Valley and several forest tracts in Rohilkhand were terminated. The local Civil Officers were placed in charge of the collections, with directions to watch the operations of the system. They were also advised to suggest means by which the undesirable features of the old system could be eradicated without throwing the entire system overboard.¹¹⁸ And for always making available a certain supply of the best timber for Military or other public purposes, Thomason had firmly decided to secure it at all cost. In order to fulfil it the system to be introduced was through the appointment of an intelligent and qualified officer who was to determine what part of the forest contained the trees best suited for Government purposes. The portion of the forest thus determined should be devised for facilitating the removal of the timber and bringing down its price. No more

115. Ibid., pp. 183-184.

116. Foreign Consultations, Nos. 44-45, of August 12, 1843.

117. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

118. Ibid., p. 184.

than what was actually necessary for the Government was to be cut. Provision was also made to allow the free growth of the remainder. It was also to be ensured that what was cut was sold to the best advantage. But this officer was to act under the immediate orders of the Military Board. He was also supposed to know what the present and probable requirements of the department in future were. It was also to remain his responsibility to ensure the regular and adequate supply of seasoned¹¹⁹ timber with the help of the officers of the Department. This officer was designated as Commissioner of Woods and Forests.¹²⁰

Apart from the preservation of the timber forests, Thomason also took firm steps against the grazing and cutting of fodder for the public cattle. He strongly condemned the views of the Commissary-General who believed that trees, which were not near villages, were public property. Thomason stressed that all trees, grass, forage within the limits of a village were private property, unless on the borders of public roads and thoroughfares. Any person, whether a public servant or a private individual, trespassing upon the property was liable to prosecution in the Criminal Court. Communicating these views of Thomason to the Military Board, Thornton says that :

"The Lieutenant-Governor feels convinced that you will at once perceive the justice and the policy of these principles and will impress upon the Commissariat Department the importance of respecting the rights of property which the law confers. Undoubtedly the expense of supporting the public cattle will be increased, but this is the necessary result of discontinuing an illegal exaction, which the Government will gladly bear, and look for its recompense in the feeling of confidence and security, and the consequent prosperity which respect to private property is calculated to produce."¹²¹

These views clearly show how much Thomason was interested in the preservation of forests of the province. He tried immediately to put a stop to the bad old practices whereby a general and undefined right of grazing public cattle on private property, cutting

119. Ibid., p. 185.

120. Home Public Proceedings, No. 31-32, of September 24, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 16, of September 8, 1853.

121. Letter from J. Thornton to the Military Board, Calcutta, dated the 11th January, 1844, Secret Department No. 1, Document No. 1, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 2.

trees for elephants, etc., was exercised.¹²² Thus he attempted to save the forest wealth of the province. Similar interest was evinced by Thomason in the Tarai region of Gorakhpur. In 1850 he got them remeasured and classified for their proper management.¹²³ In fact, the main work of development in the field of forests during Thomason's regime was done between 1845 to 1850. During this period, apart from planting and maintaining new trees,¹²⁴ considerable forest research work was also done. For instance, improvement in the Sena plant and production of a better variety of Deodar and timber seeds were pursued vigorously.¹²⁵ Proper care was also taken of the roadside trees and those in the staging bungalows.¹²⁶ It is equally interesting to note that the proposal for placing the forests and canals under the care of P. T. Cautley was rejected in the early years of Thomason's regime.¹²⁷ Thus the spreading of the irrigational highways and the preservation of the forest wealth in the North-Western Provinces owed much to Thomason. For him these were the important means of improving the capacity of the country for raising Government revenues, and also of improving the lot of the people residing in different areas. It must be said to the credit of Thomason that he managed to exploit the existing systems to the maximum advantage and also made alterations in that system to suit his requirements. What appears in high relief in all of Thomason's projects is his sense of proportion and practicability.

122. Ibid., p. 1; also Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 9-13, of January 19, 1850; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 38-39, of May 9, 1846.

123. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 3-8, b, of April 4, 1850.

124. Home Public Proceedings, No. 38-39, of May 9, 1846.

125. Home Public Proceedings, No. 24, of January 22, 1848; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 31-32, of September 24, 1852; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 16 of September 8, 1853.

126. Home Public Proceedings, No. 39, of March 22, 1845.

127. Land Revenue Proceedings, No. 7-8, b, of August 26, 1843.

CHAPTER VIII

A Critical Estimate

In recognition of the brilliant and meritorious services alike to the Crown and the Company, the India Board nominated Sir James Thomason for the post of the Governor of Madras Presidency towards the end of September, 1853,¹ but on the very day, (i.e., September 27, 1853) that the Queen's mandate left Buckingham Palace for India, Thomason left India for his heavenly abode.² The tragic swiftness with which the icy hands of death rung down the curtain on the life story of Thomason, however, failed to diminish the brilliance of his service in India.

During 31 years of his tenure of office he rose from strength to strength and occupied one exalted position after another down to the day of his death in 1853. He had the rare privilege of serving in the Company of such stalwarts as Earl of Amherst (1823-1828), Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835), Lord Auckland (1836-1842), Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844), Lord Hardinge (1844-1848) and Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856). From Bentinck, Ellenborough and Hardinge particularly he drew immense inspiration and obtained considerable help for his projects. Referring to this Temple observes: "At his early age he would not be brought much into contact with the first of these, the Earl of Amherst. But he could not fail to notice with admiration the next, namely, Lord William Bentinck, in whose Secretariat he served more than once, and from whose reforming mind he doubtless drew inspiration. He would not see much of the immediate successor, Lord Auckland, with whose pre-occupations in Afghanistan he felt little concern....He was intimately acquainted with Lord Ellenborough. He was greatly pleased with Lord Har-

1. Dictionary of National Biography, Edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XIX, p. 684; also Appendix 'U', 'V', and 'W'.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.; also Appendix 'F'.

dinge, from whom during the scanty leisure afforded by warlike events, he obtained sanction for some of his most important projects. With the Marquess of Dalhousie, he also cultivated friendship, and died under his regime."³

Temple's study and the portraits presented by other biographers bring out a conspicuous trait of Thomason's character, namely, his dedication and remorseless industry. Without seeming to be aware of belonging to a select band of British administrators, Thomason was always eager to be consistent in his dedication. This trait made him to stake all to meet the responsibilities of administration. Throughout his career, he tried to make himself the personal embodiment of a benevolent ruling power and succeeded thereby to win the affection and loyalty of the people in his care. His intimate personal contact with the Indian masses enabled him to measure the psychology of the people. In a letter to his daughter he wrote, "what was wanted to make India really loyal was a personal embodiment of the ruling power rather than an abstract idea. Loyalty in any form is delightful. I am sure it is the safeguard of the country. We expect the people of India to be attached to the Government that is, the East India Company. But the thing is impossible. No oriental people ever yet loved an abstract idea. They must have a personal embodiment of the ruling power: it is that, that acts with extraordinary force on the minds of our fellow subjects."⁴

Disruption and violence to the existing systems were alien to his temperament. His own words make this point of view abundantly clear, "We examined the existing systems and retained whatever of them were found to be right and just, and then engrafted on this basis new maxims derived from our own institutions."⁵

The charm of the new did not dazzle his eyes nor was the old always despicable in his opinion. He strenuously sought to preserve those long-cherished traditions of Indian society that had stood the test of time admirably. While introducing beneficial measures though gradually and cautiously, he took the utmost precaution to refrain from offending Indian susceptibilities by rash and hasty innovations. That showed his faith is a harmonising *status quo* and expediency in statecraft.

With patience, moderation of thought, considerate deliberation,

3. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

4. Thomason's letter to his daughter cited in Oswell, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

5. Hunter, W.W., *James Thomason*, pp. 183-84.

resolution and persistency, Thomason inaugurated an era of beneficent reform conceived in an enlightened and humane spirit. The way in which Thomason continued Bird's Scheme to reform land revenue administration in accordance with Regulation IX of 1833 and brought it to its completion in 1849 was a magnificent achievement. His most valuable contribution in this field was the famous 'Directions for Settlement Officers'⁶ drawn up in 1844. These directions constituted the first complete land revenue code compiled in India during the British period. Similar work entitled 'Directions to Collectors'⁷ was also compiled by him which proved to be of great use in the revenue administration of the North-Western Provinces.⁸ Apart from the instructions he issued to Settlement Officers and Collectors, the recognition of proprietary rights of the people in their holdings was one of the cardinal features of his land revenue policy. To him the main value of a settlement rested on the following considerations: "Whoever may be in theory the proprietor of land in India, the absence of all actual restriction on the supreme power in the determination of the amount of its demand left all property in land virtually dependent on its will. An estate assessed above its productive power is worthless and must cease to produce anything to the proprietor unless the demand is realised. So long as the worth of the land is left from year to year dependent on the pleasure of the Government, its value must be uncertain and cannot be great. But when the Government limits its demand to a reasonable amount and fixes that amount for a term of years, a marketable property is thereby created, and it becomes of much importance that the person be named in whose favour this property is recognized or created."⁹

Among the many delicate problems which Thomason had to tackle, one which aroused considerable controversy related to the large land-owners or *taluqdars*. He took the decision "that existing facts should be recognised where the *talukdars* had securely established themselves as landlords; but, where doubt existed, the original proprietors were to be supported and in such a case the settlement was to be made with them; the original proprietors were to pay the land tax direct to Government, while the *taluqdars* concerned were to be allowed a certain percentage of the land tenure

6. Home Public Consultations, No. 31 of January, 17, 1846.

7. Board of Revenue Proceedings, No. 92 of October 8, 1850.

8. Commons Report, Accounts and Papers, Public Works, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV gives an account of both of these 'Directions.'

9. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 184.

in lieu of the profits they formerly got from the assignments of the revenue after the defrayal of all their charges."¹⁰ This decision was manifestly equitable. Even if certain taluqdars felt that their social status had been lowered, they could not complain that their financial interests had been seriously affected. Thomason has been severely criticised because he held that a prosperous and contented peasantry was to be considered a more solid foundation of British power than landed aristocracy. In dubious cases he gave the benefit of the doubt to the peasant proprietors rather than to taluqdars. There is no doubt that he succeeded in mitigating the hardships which afflicted small owners and in eliminating the middlemen by establishing direct contact with the peasants, but it turned out to be a fearful experiment in that it aimed at obliterating the time-honoured distinctions existing between different classes of the society. As a direct consequence of this policy many taluqdars, the hereditary landlords (and tax-collectors for the Government) were deprived of their positions and gain. Quite a few of them who had been holding rent-free tenures, were deprived of their lands and estates which were ultimately sold by them to the highest bidders. The purchasers of such lands were usually speculators who exploited the tenants fully. Even the peasants did not like the passing of the old ways and the crushing burden of the land tax amounting to two-thirds of the net produce. Thus the new land revenue settlements drove poverty in the ranks of the aristocracy without benefiting the peasantry, which in the long run was seen groaning under the heavy assessments and excessive duties. This painful truth soon became evident to the Government itself and new rules were issued in 1855, reducing the land tax to 50 per cent instead of 66 per cent.¹¹ Even this step could not satisfy the disgruntled landed aristocracy which later on attempted to avenge the wrong by joining the Revolt of 1857. There is no gainsaying the fact that Thomason was responsible for forfeiting the sympathy of the landed aristocracy, but his motive in improving the lot of the mass of cultivators was ethically sound, though administratively inexpedient.

Whereas for his reforms in revenue administration Thomason incurred this bitterness, in the field of educational reforms, he won lasting popularity. Throughout his regime his deep concern was to educate the people on the right lines and to inculcate in them sound values and healthy attitudes. Guided and supported by his

10. Ibid., loc. cit.

11. For details see the 'Saharanpur Rules of 1855.'

father's views¹² on the subject as well as his own personal observations, he stressed the necessity of imparting education through the vernacular languages to the Indian masses. He became a champion of indigenous institutions by giving a practical shape to this proposal. In a Circular to District Officials issued in 1845, he wrote that the means for educating the people were "at hand in the indigenous schools which are scattered over the face of the country. Their number may not at present be large, and the instruction conveyed in them is known to be rude and elementary, but these numbers may be increased and the instruction conveyed in them may be improved."¹³ The circular clearly abandoned the Downward Filtration Theory and it goes to the credit of Thomason that he convinced the Central Government and the Court of Directors of the soundness of his view. Both gave him their active support in giving concrete shape to his ideas. His proposals for the development of indigenous schools as a means of spreading education among the masses were not only endorsed but were highly commended also.

Another great achievement of Thomason was to levy a cess for the support of primary schools. The idea of taxation for school purposes was then new to India. Even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870,¹⁴ but as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools. He avoided the

12. Thomas Thomason, before starting for Calcutta to join as Chaplain of the Mission Church, had urged the Governor-General-in-Council for the inauguration of some system of national education for the natives of India. This was to be imparted in the several vernaculars of the country and was to have its literary foundation in the learned languages of the East. He so far impressed the Governor-General with his ideas that he was commissioned to draw up a general scheme for the education of the Indians. It was for the sake of urging this plan that he was desirous of accompanying the Governor-General on his protracted march from Calcutta up to the country. His letters written during the journey are full of his anxieties on this behalf. He believed that to indoctrinate the rural masses with some sense of the value of ordinary knowledge for the success of their own affairs. This knowledge could only be imparted through the vernacular language. This knowledge could never be diffused except through the active agency of the Government. But that was a time when the Anglicist view in the field of education was dominating where there was no room for such an approach. For details see Temple, R., op. cit., pp. 171-172.

13. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 237

14. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

necessity for legislation by making the landholders agree voluntarily to pay a tax of one and a-half per cent. on land revenue for the maintenance of schools and, later on, obtained the sanction of the Court of Directors for payment of an equal amount by Government. Thomason was thus the first officer in India to levy a local tax for schools and to give grants-in-aid to educational institutions. The funds thus obtained were utilised for the maintenance of schools popularly known as **Halkabandi schools**.¹⁵

There is yet another scheme whose authorship is directly attributable to Thomason's administrative sagacity. He made systematic efforts to evolve and organize a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools which in the first instance was introduced as an experimental measure in eight districts in 1850, met with general approbation and subsequently, in recognition of its intrinsic merits, the pattern of education conceived by Thomason gained a nationwide importance when the historic Despatch of Sir Charles Wood was issued in 1854.¹⁶

These three great contributions of Thomason are highly valuable to a scholar interested in the historical evolution of education in India. Governor-General Dalhousie was profoundly impressed by their soundness and recommended that the area of their operation should be extended not only to all the districts of the North-Western Provinces, but also to Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. He wrote: "Five years ago I had the honour of recommending to the Hon'ble Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for the Promotion of Vernacular Education by the introduction of schools in each **Tahseel**, on the part of the Government. The scheme was designed ultimately for the whole of the 31 districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honor for the time to eight of these districts.... Three years have since elapsed, and I now submit to my Hon'ble colleagues with feelings of genuine satisfaction a despatch in which the late Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment and asked that the scheme of vernacular education should now be extended in its full integrity to all the districts within the jurisdiction

15. For details of the **Halkabandi schools** see Despatch of 1859, Para 19.

16. Richey, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-251 and 266-268; also Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, vide Nurullah, S., and Naik, J.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131.

of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. Alluding to the districts, in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said, "In all these parts there is a population no less teeming and a people as capable of learning." The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced; the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated; the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise throughout the length and breadth of the land the same spirit of enquiry and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterise the inhabitants of the four districts in which a commencement has been made. . . . I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that full sanction should be given to the extension of the system of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency. I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligation that rests upon me as the head of the Government of India, if, with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendations already proposed. These will provide for the wants of the North-Western Provinces; but other vast Governments remain, with "a people as capable of learning" as those in Hindustan, and "a population" still more "teeming". There too the same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. Those wants ought to be met. . . . I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bangal and Behar those means of education which notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are not told upon the experienced authority of Dr. Mouat are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us."¹⁷

Apart from being a great champion of mass education, Thomason took a lead in the promotion of engineering education also. He established a College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee. As Charles Wood observed in his Despatch of 1854: "This was the first step taken towards providing technical education in Northern India."¹⁸ The institution was a direct byproduct of irrigation and

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-268.

18. *Oswell, G.G., op. cit.*, p. 187.

allied engineering schemes undertaken by Government. A modest beginning in this context was made in 1845 when an Engineering School was started at Saharanpur. Soon after the conclusion of the first Anglo-Sikh War, the execution of the Ganga Canal project was vigorously resumed in 1847 and gigantic improvised structures and large engineering workshops sprang into existence. The Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Thomason, perceiving the appropriateness of the time and place and to ensure the speedy and economical supply of trained personnel and engineering apparatus proposed to establish an Engineering College in the close vicinity of the Canal headworks. The scheme was sanctioned and in the same year (1847) it was given a concrete shape by the appointment of a regular Principal and formulation of a well thought-out prospectus. In 1849 the institution was placed on a permanent footing and a scheme for its enlargement and improvement was sanctioned in 1853. In 1854 after the death of Thomason, his name was permanently associated with the College.¹⁹ A similar College for Civil Engineering was also set up subsequently at Calcutta, another at Madras and a third in the Presidency of Bombay.²⁰

As a social reformer also Thomason was always in the forefront. He devised benevolent measures to ameliorate the penal system in India. The first effective step to improve the condition and discipline of the Indian prison houses was taken by him. He appointed an Inspector of Prisons whose office was found so beneficial that a similar office was created in Bengal. The Governments of Madras and Bombay were also authorised to establish the office on the same pattern within their respective Presidencies.²¹ Similarly, in the non-regulation province of Punjab and Oudh, Inspectors of Prisons were included among the necessary administrative officers.²²

The foremost among the works of public utility which received Thomason's attention was the road transport system. As most of commercial and military transportation was effected by vehicular traffic on the roads, he made pioneering efforts to develop these arteries of transport. Because of his active interest great progress was made

19. Dalhousie minute, dated 25th October, 1853, vide Richey, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

20. For details see Muir, R., *The Making of British India*, 1756, 1858, p. 376.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

22. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

in the construction of metalled roads and bridges. Extensive renovations and repairs were carried out on the roads that were in disreputable condition. Several new highways were struck out through regions which were hitherto unchartered. Thomason's example was sedulously emulated by his successor, Mr. John Colvin, and in the Punjab by the Lawrences.²³ The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the North-Western Frontier Provinces whose strategic, military and commercial importance could not be overassessed, may be singled out to demonstrate Thomason's foresight and vision with which he planned his administration. The Road was rapidly pushed on and he had it thoroughly well-metalled on the system which was much later introduced in England by Mr. MacAdam.²⁴ Like the expansive and undulating roads that rolled across the province and welded the far-flung places into a compact whole, canals and their complex system of distributaries also received energetic encouragement in Thomason's administration. The vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal and remodelling of the Eastern Jamuna Canal must be rated as two of the outstanding achievements of Thomason among the multifarious activities that he pursued with unmitigated zeal.

Thus Thomason contrived to brace up and strengthen the administration part by part. His task was exacting but by mastering the minute details of every development project which he launched, he transformed the near chaotic conditions into admirable orderliness. On the basis of his achievements in various branches, Thomason rose as one of those few British rulers who established an efficient framework of administration in India.

It may well be inquired what secret charm it was which lent to every department of his administration so distinguished an efficiency and greatness. It was not brilliant genius, for his faculties, though powerful and elevated, were not transcendent; it was not the gift of eloquence nor anything persuasive in speech or writing. But, as Muir remarks, "The capacities of his well-regulated mind schooled into their utmost efficiency, performed wonderful things; but those capacities in themselves were in few respects greater than those often met with in undistinguished characters. There was indeed a rare power of deliberation and judgment, an unusual faculty of discernment and research, a keen discrimination of truth

23. Strachey, J., *India—Its Administration and Progress*, p. 214.

24. Oswell, G.G., *op. cit.*, p. 189.

from error. Yet these were mainly the result of studious habit and earnest purpose. And herein, in our judgment, lies the grand praise of the late administration. It was by labour that it was perfected—conscientious, unceasing, daily labour; by a wakeful anxiety that knew no respite; but a severity of thought, ever busy and ever prolific in the devising of new arrangements, and the perfecting of old. Yet his mind was so beautifully balanced that this unwearied work and never-ceasing tension produced (as in most men it could) hardly fail to have done) no irregularity of action, and no fretful or impatient advance. All was even, serene, powerful."²⁵

Thomason's successful career was undoubtedly largely due to his sincerity and unremitting devotion to duty. Even in his last days when he was suffering from in different health, he declared that, "he will brace himself with all his remaining energies for the Government of his own Provinces."²⁶ Because he believed in seeing things himself without minding the strain and physical fatigue, throughout his term of office, extensive touring had been a cardinal principle of his administrative policy.²⁷ He had managed to tour the various districts of the North-Western Provinces about three times, after regular intervals. The dimensions of this achievement may be measured from the fact that from his frontier westward of Delhi to Gorakhpur in the east, at the base of the Himalayas, the distance amounted to 600 miles from west to east, and 400 miles from north to south.²⁸ These tour programmes of Thomason also reveal his keen sense of punctuality. Thus through extensive tour-

25. Muir, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

26. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, p. 116.

27. It is curious to observe that the inquiring nature of his mind, which continued to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Thomason's later days, was that which during his early days first impressed Simcon. He writes in his first letter to Thomas Thomason that, "In liveliness and sweetness of disposition, and in tenderness of spirit, he far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. What was said by—of his inquisitiveness (his spirit of inquiry I mean) was delightfully verified all along the road.... Many of his questions were such as a man, a traveller of sound sense and judgment, would have asked and led the explanations which it was the delight of my heart to give." Further he writes to James's mother that, "He is, as you say, a little idle; but very sensible and acute in his questions." Carus, *Life of Simcon*, pp. 394-397; also *Home Public Consultations*, No. 26 of November 22, 1845.

28. For details of the march of the touring party of the Lieutenant-Governor with all his retinue, their hardships, etc., see Temple, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 103 to 109.

ing Thomason availed himself to the full of the abundant opportunity of promoting the welfare of his people and of gaining that knowledge, so essential to a ruler of men, of the character and qualities of his officers of all grades. In the words of Temple, "One mainspring of his success was the use he made of the opportunities afforded by these tours for promoting the physical development of the country, improving the social status of its inhabitants, and becoming acquainted with the merits or the faults of the public servants in all grades. He was gifted by nature with an eye for noting the contour and configuration of lands and localities. Had he not been a Civilian ruler, he might have been a great surveyor, pioneer or hydraulic engineer. Restricted as were his powers in regard to the greater public works, he had yet the command of the countless local improvements, and the lesser works scattered throughout the country. The guidance, the impulse, the organization, the rectification, which he afforded to all these affairs during his marches, were of untold value. These, too, were the opportunities for the Natives to urge their grievances before him face to face; and for him to gather the drift of Native opinion or sentiment. From these meetings some formal, some social, some casual or accidental, he would learn how to recommend reform of the laws or of the executive regulations. These, too, were the occasions for his noticing the indigenous institutions of the country.... In these several ways he became imbued with that confidence which can spring from ocular evidence alone and acquired a living faith in what was wanted and what was practicable for the welfare of the land and the people."²⁹

Thomason, who in his boyhood days was somewhat idle, shook off his sluggishness and always pursued the continuous course of unwearying labour, whether he was in the camp or at home. Nothing was allowed to interfere with his daily work; and neither climate, nor weariness, nor fatigue, nor sickness relaxed his incessant energy; and to this prodigious power of work, he added a strong will and self-reliance. By his labour, experience, strong-will, self-reliance, vision and judgment, he always tried to probe into the minds and hearts of men, whether they were intellectuals or ordinary folk. This was a quality which made him an administrator with a real and true human touch.

Thomason had also the quality of recognizing merit and a rare power of discriminating character. William Muir, who served under Thomason, gives an account of the way his master used to judge his

subordinates and colleagues. He says: "With unexpected rapidity, the Lieutenant-Governor would perceive the weak point of a case or line of procedure; and the officer, if not thoroughly master of his work, would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself. The earnest worker, and the aspiring subordinate, were recognized and encouraged. The former would be incited to prosecute, with redoubled energy, some occupation of his own devising, or one for which his Chief perceived in him a peculiar attitude and taste; here the reins would be loosened, and a generous spur given to the willing labourer. To the latter some special sphere of industry or research would be suggested—perhaps, the inquiry into an interesting custom or tenure brought to notice in the circuit: he would be invited probably to embody his investigation when completed, and state his views and conclusions, in a written form; and the impulse thus given to talent and application, would prove perhaps the starting point of a useful, if not distinguished, career."³⁰

He was a seasoned officer and his administrative acumen, instinctive perception and an eye for potentiality enabled him to select a team of young European officers who subsequently distinguished themselves in their respective offices and glorified the name of their master. Some of them were John and Henry Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, William Muir, John Strachey, George Edmonstone, George Campbell, Charles Raikes, Edward Thornton and John Walter Sherer. They were proud of having been trained by Thomason who kept on acting as a friend, philosopher and guide when in the course of the regular and official promotions they came to occupy positions of high office and burdensome responsibilities. In one of his letters to Henry Lawrence, dated November 18, 1843, he writes that, "Your communications to Government should be few and only when necessary. Let them be clear and full in detail, free from local or technical expressions and written as to people who know nothing of what must be very familiar to yourself and who therefore require explanations regarding persons and events, which may appear at first to be too well-known to require explanation.

"In writing especially on a new subject or new chain of events endeavour to place yourself in the position of the person addressed, and to remember that his information is only to be obtained through the medium of your own letter. Lord Ellenborough pays much at-

30. Muir, W., op. cit., pp. 34-35.

tention to the Diary and therefore you should be careful in its composition. It may be made a very interesting narrative of events, but the information should be obtained from the best source, and the degree of credibility to be attached to them should be noted. . . . You will not of course neglect carefully to examine the correspondence book, and to weigh most accurately all the orders, which have issued from the present Governor-General since he entered the country. You will be wise to avoid demi-official correspondence on public subjects, especially with Secretaries and never write what you would not wish to be shown to the Governor-General.

"I have perhaps wandered from the subject and given you more of general advice and precept than you wished or bargain for."³¹

These lines reveal Thomason's sincerity as a true trainer. It is also to be noted that every officer under him was aware of a friendly and personal interest. His praise was generous and his condemnation was felt to be deserved; he knew exactly what were the special interests and what was the right post for each officer. Much more important in Thomason was his graceful kindness and hospitality to his subordinates. According to Temple, "European officers who came to join his government, or to serve under him in any capacity, would be invited to stay with him for a few days. The men thus invited had full opportunity of learning his views and of exchanging ideas with him, the result naturally being that they became attached to his policy and imbued with his principles. He had much fluency in conversation, and his thoughts would be gently distilled like the dew. Young men, almost youths, just arrived from England would be impressed by his gracious (gracious) kindness in a strange land, and fell at once under the spell of his influence. Many officers, who themselves have afterwards risen to fame and power, would acknowledge that they first drew their inspiration from the hospitalities at Agra."³² It was because of such behaviour and dealings with his subordinates and colleagues that Thomason "received a ready and devoted service"³³ from them. To quote Oswell, "All district officers regard themselves as the patriarchs of their districts, and as stewards for the improvement of their national estates, but never before had this idea been so firmly grasped by any civil governor as by Thomason, and none so fully carried into effect."³⁴ Thus

31. MSS. EUR. F. 85; Vol. No. 28, dated 18th November, 1843; Henry Lawrence Collection, India Office Library, London.

32. Temple, R., op. cit., p. 123.

33. Woodruff, P., op. cit., p. 303.

34. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 189.

the team of officers which he had collected for carrying out his administration was entirely the result of his training and indoctrination. A tribute to Thomason's talent in the art of public instruction was paid by Dalhousie when the latter requisitioned 19 top-ranking officers to govern the newly annexed province of the Punjab. These disciples of Thomason who were schooled by him with such a meticulous care and loving devotion must have been *creme de la creme* of the people trained by him. What he himself thought of his own loss may be gathered from his words written to his brother-in-law, Montgomery, "It has been a heavy tax: nineteen men of the best blood: I feel very weak after so much of depletion: but the remaining blood will circulate more quickly and healthily, so we shall soon get over it."³⁵ These officers carried the traditions of Thomason's school wherever they went. And very soon an efficient trainer as Thomason was, he filled the vacuum with another batch of equally competent officers. Kaye also observed that: "There is a freshness, a vigorous, a healthy robust youth, as it were, apparent everywhere in the administration of these provinces. . . . What Thomason and his associates have done for upper India can only be fairly appreciated by those who know what was the state of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of India fifty or even twenty years ago."³⁶

Another important quality of Thomason was his tolerant eye for human weaknesses. He did not believe in racial prejudice or racial superiority. He employed Indians in more responsible positions. In order to train young Indians for the posts he created for them, he founded the Engineering College at Roorkee. For instance, Mohammad Ali Khan was one of those brilliant Indian students of that time, who after passing his Civil Engineering examination with distinction "having gained many marks in excess of all the European pupils, both civil and military,"³⁷ joined as a military engineer under the East India Company, though later on he resigned

35. Woodruff, P., op. cit., p. 303.

36. Kaye, J.W., *The Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 267-268.

37. Mohammad Ali Khan's role in the outbreak of 1857-58 as a true Indian, who preferred to die for his country than to serve under an alien ruler, will ever be remembered in the history of the Indian Liberation Movement. If there is a roll of honour in the Roorkee Engineering University—the name that should top the list is that of Mohammad Ali Khan. For details see Forbes-Mitchell, *Reminiscences*, Chapter X; vide also Misra, A.S., *Nana Sahib Peshwa*, pp. 574 to 576.

from that post and joined the Indian revolutionaries in 1857-58 and sacrificed his life to the cause of the motherland. Similarly, Thomason's behaviour with the Indians can also be judged from another instance when he granted pension of Rs. 2 per month to an Indian mason who received an injury while constructing a bridge.³⁸

In those days of early British administration Thomason's broad-minded religious toleration was distinctive. Though he was a hearty supporter of missions of all Protestant denominations,³⁹ and he gave full encouragement to the American missionaries working at Allahabad, Fatehgarh, Meerut, etc., yet in his position as Lieutenant-Governor, he staunchly held to the axiom that the introduction of religious teaching by the Government was not only inexpedient but unjustifiable. In the words of Oswell, "while himself a profound believer in the truth of his own religion, he would never allow himself to go beyond the rules of neutrality in religion, which he saw was the only possible position for the Government of India to adopt."⁴⁰ Thus Thomason distinguished between his official and private capacities; as an official he was strictly impartial, as a private citizen he helped missionaries by occasional financial assistance. And this restraint was possible because he believed that "as the Hindus learned to exercise their intelligence freely, light would prevail and more reasonable doctrines be accepted. To try to take short cuts and hasten that day would only delay it in the end."⁴¹ It is reported of him that when some of his friends asked him to allow Christian teaching to accompany secular teaching in his new scheme for primary education, his reply was, "My business as a Governor is to enlighten people, not to teach religion."⁴² He even declined to admit the books of the Calcutta Christian School Book Society into the Depot of the Curator of Government School Books, or to allow the Government shops to exhibit religious works along with their

38. Home Public Consultations, No. 7 of June 5, 1847.

39. When he was not at his official work, he was usually either writing to his children in England or copying out for them from devotional works. He read Taylor, Hooker, Herbert and Quarels; he read the 'Christian Year' and 'In Memoriam'; the sermons of Melvill of Hailebury, and many other sermons. vide Woodruff, P., op. cit., p. 302.

40. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 191; also Woodruff, P., op. cit., p. 302.

41. Woodruff, P., op. cit., p. 302.

42. Cited in Oswell, G.G., op. cit., p. 191.

stock of school-books.⁴³ In one of his speeches delivered at the opening of the Queen's College, Benares,⁴⁴ his views in respect of religious tolerance became clear. He said, "We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had not to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their young in their own peculiar tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions, on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable, that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is, then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships, that here morality may be rightly taught, and that here truth, in all its majesty, may prevail. . . ."⁴⁵

Another noteworthy trait of Thomason's mental make up was his insatiable curiosity to know the minutiae of affairs pertaining to Government. After all why did he himself request for his transfer from Secretariat to the post of a District Officer in 1832 when he was made Magistrate and Collector of Azamgarh? The simple reason was that he wanted to acquire administrative experience and practical knowledge of district work in immediate contact with the people. So well and so quickly he learnt this art that the most diverse subjects from a revenue settlement to the details of a bridge, a jail or a road, were handled with equal facility. Whatever the projects, he never forgot that the success of a centralized Government depends upon smaller arrangements. "He would walk into the record room of a Collectorate, take down a bundle of vernacular proceedings, detect at a glance if they had been properly arranged, and remark upon the orders passed by the Collector. He would enter a medical dispensary, examine the book of cases, gladden the heart of the Indian surgeon by a few pertinent remarks, and perhaps set him thinking on the properties of a drug procurable in the bazaar, and relied upon by Indian practitioners, but unknown to the English physician. He would question an Indian Revenue Officer about the condition of his villages and remark upon the effect of a hail-storm which had lately occurred in some village under his control.

43. Muir, W., op. cit., p. 89.

44. This College is now enjoying the status of the premier Sanskrit Universities of India, better known as Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya.

45. Cited in Muir, W., op. cit., p. 90; also Oswell, G.G., op. cit., pp. 190-191,

Every officer was aware that with him generalities were of no avail, that the Governor knew more of his district than he did himself, and that his own best policy was to point out deficiencies."⁴⁶ His system of dealing with any problem district may be illustrated from his own account of what was achieved in Marwara in the way of improving the character of the people: "We first thrashed them soundly, then raised a battalion amongst them to afford employment, and then by conciliatory, just and moderate rule secured their confidence."⁴⁷

Thomason's success also largely depended upon the absence of any Council. It indirectly increased the power and prerogatives of the Lieutenant-Governor and he, therefore, worked without any interference. In contrast, it is noteworthy how great was the opposition which Warren Hastings had to face from the members of his Council, specially the strictures and dogged opposition of Francis. Marshman also feels that, "If Mr. Thomason had continually two members of the Council to consult, it would be unable to act with so much energy and decision."⁴⁸ Another reason equally important for his success as compared to his predecessors was that the term of office of the Lieutenant-Governor was neither fixed nor limited.⁴⁹ He remained in the office for ten years from 1843 to 1853, whereas Metcalfe, Robertson and Clerk held it only for less than three years, one year, and less than one year respectively. The utmost that they could do was that they prepared the ground somewhat congenial for their successor, Thomason. But though his way was paved by his predecessors in office, the dynamism of his personality and his public image can be sized up sufficiently adequately by his having installed himself right at the centre of people's confidence. One thing seems to be very clear throughout that though a benevolent administrator, Thomason always tried to save the interests of the British empire. His constant aim was to harmonize the age-old Indian traditions with the requirements of a progressive administration. In this connection it is pertinent to note the remark of Thomason himself: "We examined the existing systems and retain-

46. *The Friend of India*, Serampore, October 13, 1853.

47. Oswell, G.G., op. cit., pp. 190-191; also for details see Thomason's letter to Henry Lawrence dated February 16, 1853, vide MSS. EUR. F., 85, Vol. 36; Henry Lawrence Collection, India Office Library, London.

48. Marshman: Question No. 5073, Lords Report, 1852-1853, (May 3, 1853).

49. Campbell, op. cit., p. 222.

ed whatever of them were found to be right and just, and then engrafted on this basis new maxims derived from our own institutions."⁵⁰ His policy becomes clear from the letter he addressed to Henry Lawrence, dated 29th April, 1853, in connection with Bharat-poor and Therowly. He writes : "From what Mr. Tyler says Captain Morrison is desirous to get all the power into his own hands, very much in the way that Lieutenant M. Mason has at Therowly. Now the cases are quite different. Therowly was a mismanaged, disorganized state, that we had to bring in order—Bharatpur is in very tolerable order, we have only to keep it so. Anyhow I hope that no attempt will be made at Bhurtpoor to introduce our institutions and principles of administration. They do not answer in a native state...."⁵¹ This letter also shows that in order to maintain the British hold over the Indian states, he did not offend the sentiments and feelings of the rulers by unnecessary interference in their internal affairs. By following this policy he thought that the Indian states could be made into strong pillars of British imperialism. From a perusal of the voluminous correspondence that constantly flowed from Thomason to Henry and John Lawrence, it transpires how precise and detailed exhortations were given by Thomason to them not only on the affairs pertaining to civil administration, but even on the vital military issues—an area with which no civil administrator should normally be expected to be thoroughly conversant.⁵² To substantiate the validity of the foregoing observation an illustration can be given from what Thomason wrote to Henry Lawrence on the occasion of the latter's appointment as the Resident of Nepal. In his letter dated November 18, 1843, Thomason writes :

"Your duties at Nepal will be two-fold, viz., to watch us and to offer counsel to them in all state matters in which we may not be concerned, whenever such counsel is sought or is likely to be acceptable and useful.

"In the first duty, you will have to keep the men between too great confidence and too ready suspicion. You may be well persuaded that the court of Nepal as well as of every alternative state

50. Hampton, H.V., *op. cit.*, p. 193; also Temple, R., *op. cit.*, p. 184.

51. Letter from Thomason to Henry Lawrence, dated April 20, 1853, MSS. EUR. F., 85, Vol. 36, Henry Lawrence Collection, India Office Library, London.

52. For details more letters of Thomason to Lawrence in the Appendices 'Y' and 'Z'.

is eager to join in any scheme however wild for the subversion of our power. But it is beneath our dignity to be constantly endeavouring to expose all the schemes which visionary intriguers are endeavouring to advance their own interests by propounding. It is only where the treachery is clear, the scheme plausible and the evidence complete, that exposure, remonstrance and retribution can be requisite.—It falls to the duty of a Resident of a Foreign court to perform...."⁵³

His correspondence with various dignitaries gives unmistakable clue to the degree of high esteem in which Thomason was held. How great was the anguish of Dalhousie at the passing away of Thomason is brought out vividly from the poignant words that follow: "Troubles multiply too; for in the last night I have received an express announcing the death of Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces. He was a first rate man, invaluable to India and to me. Within a fortnight I have thus lost my right-hand and half of my left" at a time when I can least afford to be maimed. For Thomason himself it is a great gain. I wish I was where he is. But for us who are left it is a heavy loss. However, as the Duke's wind-up ran, 'it can't be helped.'"⁵⁴

Thus ends the life of the 'Prince of Indian Civilians.'⁵⁵ He brought to an end an important chapter of Indian administration

53. Letter from Thomason to Henry Lawrence, dated November 18, 1843; MSS. EUR. F. 85, Vol. 28, Henry Lawrence Collection, India Office Library, London.

54. Colonel Mackeson who was assassinated at Peshawar, has been described as Dalhousie's right hand, whereas Thomason who also died during the same fortnight, his half of left. vide Bird, J.G.A., Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, p. 264.

55. Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, Edited by Baird, J.G.A., pp. 264-265; also see Dalhousie's tribute to Thomason which is equally important. He writes: "I cannot refrain from recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear, which would have heard welcome sanction given with so much joy, is now dull in death. I desire at the same time to add to the expression my feelings, that even though Mr. Thomason had left behind him, this system of general vernacular education which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career." The Governor-General also recommended to the Court of Directors that a scholarship should be founded at the Roorkee College of Civil Engineering in order to keep alive among future generations of public servants the influence of Thomason's great example. vide Richey, op. cit., p. 267; also Temple R., op. cit., p. 122.

56. Hampton, H.V., op. cit., p. 212.

which was filled to the brim by his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, his benevolence of character and suavity of demeanour. He omitted no research and spared no pains to make himself master of every subject that came before him, however minute or comprehensive. His successful career as an administrator is in no way less illustrious than those of Elphinstone, Munro, Malcolm and Metcalfe, who are acknowledged on all hands as top-flight administrators of the British rule in India.

His constant endeavour was to transform socially and economically backward India into a comparatively affluent society. Paradoxically enough the period of his benevolent administration was also the period of lull before the storm. It climaxed into a revolt on May 10, 1857, partly surcharged by the well-intentioned miscalculations of Thomason.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE AGRA PRESIDENCY IN 1835*

Secretaries to the Government	..	2
Accountant-General	..	1
Deputy Accountant-General	..	1
Judges of the Sadar Courts	..	6
Registers (Registrars) and Assistant Registers (Assistant Registrars) of the Sadar Courts	..	2
Civil and Sessions Judges	..	18
Additional Judges	..	3
Magistrates	..	2
Members of the Board of Revenue	..	2
Secretary to the Board of Revenue	..	1
Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue	..	1
Collectors and Magistrates	..	27
Collectors	..	2
Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit	..	12
Sub-Collectors, Deputy-Collectors and Joint Magistrates		22
Head Assistants	..	15
Junior Assistants	..	76
Deputy-Collector and Magistracy	..	1
Collectors of Customs	..	4
Deputy Collector of Revenue	..	1
Members of the Board of Trade	..	2
		<hr/>
Total	..	199
		<hr/>

*Home Public Proceedings, No. 13 of January 26, 1835.

APPENDIX B

REVISED SCALES OF PAY OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DESPATCH OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS DURING MARCH 1, 1838, AND FEBRUARY 4, 1840, i.e., BETWEEN METCALFE AND ROBERTSON'S REGIMES*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Designation of Civil Servants</i>	<i>Pay Per Year</i>
4	Judges of the Sadar Court	Rs. 52,000
1	Register (Registrar) of the Sadar Courts	Rs. 24,000
2	Members, Board of Revenue	Rs. 52,000
1	Secretary, Board of Revenue	Rs. 28,000
7	Commissioners of Revenue and Police	Rs. 38,200
20	Civil and Sessions Judges	Rs. 30,000
30	Magistrates and Collectors	Rs. 27,000
20	Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	Rs. 12,000
2	Independent Magistrates and Collectors	Rs. 18,000
1	Collector of Customs	Rs. 30,000
2	Collectors of Customs	Rs. 24,000
3	Collectors of Customs	Rs. 12,000
	Assistants (1 in each district)	Rs. 4,800

*Auckland's Minute of February 4, 1840, vide Home Public Proceedings, No. 2 of March 11, 1840.

APPENDIX C

AVERAGE SIZE OF THE DISTRICTS IN THE THREE PRE- SIDENCIES OF BENGAL, MADRAS AND NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES IN NORMAL TIMES*

<i>Province</i>	<i>Area of a District in Sq. Miles</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Land Revenue</i>
Bengal	3,200	10,00,000	Rs. 10,30,000
Madras	4,200	6,00,000	Rs. 16,56,000
N.W. PROVINCES	2,300	7,30,000	Rs. 13,00,000

* Campbell, Modern India, p. 239.

APPENDIX D

FIGURES OF THE ASSESSMENT IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AS SHOWN IN A DESPATCH OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, AUGUST 13, 1851*

<i>Division</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Assessment According to the Despatch of the Court of Directors</i>
Delhi	Dellii	3,57,949
	Rohtak	6,28,316
	Gurgaon	10,88,485
	Hissar (or Haryana)	3,80,200
	Karnal (or Panipat)	8,07,788
Meerut	Saharanpur	9,04,438
	Muzaffarnagar	8,72,740
	Meerut	—
	Bulandshahr	1,27,374
	Aligarh	6,83,153
Agra	Mathura	15,50,548
	Agra	15,54,010
	Farrukhabad	9,21,739
	Mainpuri	13,82,132
	Etawah	13,11,038
Rohilkhand	Bijnor	8,27,553
	Moradabad	13,34,634
	Badaun	5,20,714
	Pilibhit	3,75,897
	Baroilly	10,07,062
	Shahjahanpur	10,27,075
Allahabad	Kanpur	21,81,540
	Fatehpur	—
	Hamirpur	6,71,833
	Kalpi	6,03,784
	Allahabad	21,89,957
Banaras	Azangarh	13,57,415
	Gorakhpur	—
	Jaunpur	12,31,332
	Mirzapur	6,70,680

*Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India on August 13, 1851, No. 9, vide House of Commons, Report from Committees, 1852, Vol. X, Appendix XIX.

APPENDIX E
ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS IN THE LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT FROM 1834-35 TO 1841-42*

Year	Demands on account of current year	Collections for the demand of current year	Net Balance after deduct- ing Remissions	Gross Receipts	Charges	Nett Receipts	Remarks
1834-35	4,36,45,448	3,77,89,340	57,23,124	4,52,10,484	60,04,788	3,87,05,696	
1835-36	4,17,20,064	3,76,92,050	38,30,840	4,41,30,685	67,54,820	3,73,75,865	
1836-37	4,28,73,225	3,91,13,138	35,42,169	4,52,75,516	67,36,511	3,85,39,005	
1837-38	4,13,10,549	3,30,68,745	79,86,510	3,81,63,862	65,29,800	3,16,33,972	Famine Year
1838-39	4,65,48,990	3,63,02,151	69,44,863	4,39,12,570	64,81,339	3,74,31,231	
1839-40	4,12,06,686	3,56,52,810	49,94,192	4,18,46,441	70,30,058	3,48,16,383	
1840-41	3,76,42,610	3,47,04,023	24,13,672	4,02,26,573	63,76,783	3,38,49,790	Instalments Postponed
1841-42	4,44,64,982	4,11,62,994	29,42,238	4,56,57,421	63,07,163	3,93,50,258	
1842-43	4,41,89,341	4,06,79,465	31,69,705	4,72,85,822	67,43,917	4,05,41,905	
1843-44	4,37,14,179	4,12,57,857	23,72,633	4,67,95,483	60,64,018	4,07,31,465	

*Thomason's Despatches, Letter No. 19, Document No. 2263, Vol. I, p. 127.

APPENDIX F

STATEMENT SHOWING LAND REVENUE DEMAND AND COLLECTIONS AND THE ARREARS THAT REMAINED UN- REALISED FOR TEN YEARS—1838-39 TO 1847-48*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Demand</i>	<i>Collected</i>	<i>Balance</i>
1838-39	Rs. 4,55,48,990	Rs. 3,63,02,152	Rs. 92,46,839
1839-40	Rs. 4,12,06,686	Rs. 3,56,52,810	
1840-41	Rs. 3,76,42,610	Rs. 3,47,04,023	
1841-42	Rs. 4,16,19,038	Rs. 3,88,33,573	
1842-43	Rs. 4,39,18,901	Rs. 4,04,88,123	
1843-44	Rs. 4,34,94,154	Rs. 4,11,05,143	
1844-45	Rs. 4,34,58,828	Rs. 4,12,87,443	
1845-46	Rs. 4,30,18,371	Rs. 4,20,03,415	
1846-47	Rs. 4,30,77,005	Rs. 4,23,21,220	
1847-48	Rs. 4,29,21,660	Rs. 4,24,85,823	Rs. 4,35,836

*Court of Directors to Governor-General of India, No. 9 of August 13, 1851, vide House of Commons Report, 1852. Vol. X, Appendix XIX, p. 908.

APPENDIX G

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS IN THE LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT FROM 1834-35 TO 1841-42*

Year	Demands on accounts of current year	Collections for the demand of current year	Nett balance after deducting Remissions	Gross Re- ceipts	Charges	Nett Receipts	Remarks
1834-35	4,36,45,448	3,77,89,340	57,23,124	4,52,10,484	65,04,788	3,87,05,696	
1835-36	4,17,20,064	3,76,92,050	38,30,840	4,41,30,685	67,54,820	3,73,75,865	
1836-37	4,28,73,225	3,91,13,138	35,42,169	4,52,75,516	67,37,511	3,85,38,005	
1837-38	4,13,10,740	3,30,68,745	79,86,510	3,81,63,862	65,29,890	3,16,33,972	
1838-39	4,55,48,990	3,63,02,151	69,44,863	4,39,12,570	64,81,339	3,74,31,231	Famine year
1839-40	4,12,06,686	3,56,52,810	49,91,192	1,18,46,441	70,30,058	3,48,16,383	
1840-41	3,76,42,610	3,47,04,023	24,13,672	4,02,26,573	63,76,783	3,38,49,790	Installments
1841-42	4,44,64,982	4,11,62,994	29,42,238	4,56,57,421	63,07,163	3,93,50,258	Postponed
1842-43	4,41,89,341	4,06,79,465	31,69,705	4,72,85,822	67,43,917	4,05,41,905	
1843-44	4,37,14,179	4,12,57,857	23,72,633	4,67,95,483	60,64,081	4,07,31,465	

*James Thomason's Minute on Explanation of Revenue Accounts of 1840-41, 1841-42 dated 15th June, 1844, Letter No. 19, Document No. 2263, Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 127.

APPENDIX H
STATEMENT SHOWING THE DEMAND OF EACH F. S. YEAR OF ACCOUNT FROM 1834-35 TO 1841-42*

F. S. Year	Demand for each F. S. Year	Arrangement for Kists	Amount of Kists	Demand for each English Year of Account	English Year of Account	Remarks
5 months of						
1241	...	Bysack to Badhoo	1,16,77,380			Note: The arrangement and amount of Kists have been taken from Revenue Accountant-Generals Book down to 1839-40, but from 1840-41 the Rubbee Harvest Kists falling due subsequent to April have been assumed for the five months, and the Kharof Harvest Kists collectable from November for the seven months of the Fuesillee Year.
1242	4,17,93,066	Assin to Cheytc	3,19,68,087	4,36,45,448	6 6	
1243	4,21,71,856	Bysack to Badhoo	98,24,998			
		Assin to Cheytc	3,18,95,064	4,17,20,063	9 4	
1244	4,35,23,523	Bysack to Badhoo	1,02,76,791			
		Assin to Cheytc	3,25,90,432	4,28,73,224	10 1	
1245	4,35,15,060	Bysack to Badhoo	1,09,27,090			
		Assin to Cheytc	3,03,83,457	4,13,10,548	11 10	
1246	4,40,87,953	Bysack to Badhoo	1,31,31,602			
		Assin to Cheytc	3,24,17,387	4,55,48,990	14 9	
1247	4,36,09,675	Bysack to Badhoo	1,16,40,565			1838-39
		Assin to Cheytc	2,95,66,120	4,12,06,086	6 11	
1248	4,54,42,557	Bysack to Badhoo	1,40,43,554			
		Assin to Cheytc	2,33,99,055	3,76,42,610	0 11	
7 months of						
1249	...	Bysack to Badhoo	2,18,43,502			1840-41
		Assin to Cheytc	2,20,21,479			
	...	Assin to Cheytc	2,20,21,479	4,44,64,982	5 3	1841-42

* James Thomason's Minute on Explanation of Revenue Accounts of 1840-41—1841-42, dated 15th June, 1844, Letter No. 19, Document No. 2263, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 132.

APPENDIX I
THE UNFINISHED DRAFT OF JAMES THOMASON'S
'REVENUE CODE'*

CHAPTERS:

- I and II Introductory.
- III On Proprietary Rights in Land.
- IV On Rights of Farmers.
- V On Rights of Occupancy of the Land.
- VI On the Officers of the Government employed in the Management of Land Revenue.
- VII On the Judicial Powers of the Collector for the purpose of Registration.
- VIII On the Settlement of the Land Revenue.
- IX On Transfers of Proprietary Rights during the currency of a Settlement.
- X On the Union and Division of Mehals.
- XI On Alluvion and Diluvion.
- XII On land taken for public purposes.
- XIII On the Collector's Record Office.
- XIV On the Collection of the Land Revenue.
- XV On the sale of a Mehal for an arrear of Land Revenue.
- XVI On the farm of a Mehal for an arrear of Land Revenue.
- XVII On the attachment and sequestration of a Mehal by Government for an arrear of a Land Revenue.
- XVIII On the issue of Dustuks.
- XIX On the imprisonment of a defaulter.
- XX On the sale of the personal property of a defaulter.
- XXI On the sale or temporary alienation of the properties of defaulters in a Mehal in arrears.
- XXII On the sale of the proprietary rights of defaulters in other Mehals than that in arrears.
- XXIII On the judicial powers of the Collector in suits regarding revenue and rent and rights connected therewith.
- XXIV On summary suits regarding the payment of rent.
- XXV On summary suits regarding the payment of rent.
- XXVI On suits regarding the occupancy of land.
- XXVII On Putwaries.
- XXVIII Duties of a Collector in regard to Dewanny Courts.
- XXIX The Collector as Treasurer and Accountant.

*Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, p. 335; also The Commons Report, Accounts and Papers, Public Works, 1852-53, Vol. LXXV gives an account of both these works of Thomason, which have been referred to in the body of the text.

APPENDIX J

PRINCIPAL W. MACLAGAN'S (THE FOUNDER PRINCIPAL) REPORT OF THE CIVIL ENGINEERING COLLEGE, ROORKEE*

"For the Ganges Canal, the Grand Trunk Road and other public works, trained men, Europeans and Natives, were wanted. As a small beginning, Mr. Thomason sent three very capable and successful Native students of the Agra College to be employed under the English engineers of the Ganges Canal, then engaged on the extensive head-works at Haridwar. But as this plan could not within any reasonable time supply the men required, he proposed the establishment of an Engineering College, to train English and Native engineers and subordinates. The proposal received the hearty approval of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. The prospectus was issued in a gazette order dated 25th November, 1847. The work of instruction commenced (in tents in the first instance) on the 1st January, 1848, and six months later the College opened in its own buildings. As soon as the students could be carried through the required courses of instruction, it began to supply assistant engineers, overseers, sub-overseers, surveyors and draftsmen, for the Public Works Department.

"Mr. Thomason wished to make the college the means of aiding and stimulating the work of the village schools. The Principal was made also a Visitor of Schools for three adjoining districts, with the view of helping the masters to understand the object of the college, and to prepare for admission to it. The most numerous demands were for Native students of this class, to be surveyors and overseers.

"The idea of the college rose from the Ganges Canal. To a man like Thomason, who could bring to the examination of engineering projects a large amount of accurate technical knowledge, such an undertaking could not fail to be of the highest interest. It was designed to convey from the Ganges, and to spread abroad other thirsty lands, a supply of water enough for an area of 2,500 square miles, a splendid provision against uncertain seasons, which it might well delight him to think of. He knew what irrigation canals could do, and he could look forward with confidence to the future of this great work. Within his own province there were canals from the

*Home Public Proceedings, No. 6 of October 30, 1847; vide also Temple, R., op. cit., pp. 167 to 169.

Jumna, on both sides of the river, made by the Muhammadan predecessors of the English Rulers of India. And very precious they were, with all their imperfections.

"The greatest of the works on the Ganges Canal was the aqueduct to carry the great canal stream across the white sandy channel of the Solani river,—a channel at one time absolutely dry, at another carrying an impetuous mountain torrent. This aqueduct is near the village of Rurki, twenty miles from the head of the canal at Hardwar. This place was made the headquarters of the canal. Here the central workshops and foundry were set up. And here Mr. Thomason decided also to plant his Engineering College. The works in progress on the canal, the preparation of materials on a very large scale, and the workshop operations, would furnish useful practical lessons to the College students for years, not ceasing with completion of the works.

"After three years, it was resolved to enlarge the College, to form a new class for commissioned officers of the army (in accordance with the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier), to add a printing press, also a geological museum, a professional library, and a depot of surveying and mathematical instruments,—and for these purposes to erect new buildings.

"Mr. Thomason wrote a detailed minute, dated October 3, 1851, explanatory of the past working of the college, and of his proposals for its extension. At the beginning of his printed copy he wrote: "The pamphlet was compiled by myself, and must of the information it contains was drawn from private sources. The completion of the plan which is here sketched out may perhaps devolve upon others, and I am desirous that some record remain of the data on which I find my conclusions. In this interleaved copy will be found references to the private notes and other sources from which the materials were drawn." The occasion came for this memorandum to serve its purpose, and his plans for the college were carried out in every particular."

APPENDIX K
PROSPECTUS OF THE ENGINEERING COLLEGE AT
ROORKEE*

- (1st) "The College is designed to give theoretical and practical instruction in civil engineering to Europeans and Natives, with a view to their employment on the public works of the country, according to their several qualifications and requirements of the service."
- (2nd) "The Director of the Ganges Canal will be ex-officio visitor of the College."
- (3rd) "There will be three departments in the College, in each of which will be a certain number of stipendary students, for whom quarters will be provided."
- (4th) "First Department—Candidates for the appointment of Sub-Assistant Civil Engineer, as constituted by the Order of Government dated October 9th, 1845."
- (5th) "Persons admitted into this Department must be under the age of 22. They must have previously acquired an ability to read and write with ease and accuracy in the English language, and a knowledge of Geometry, Algebra, Mensuration, plane and spherical Trigonometry, Conic Sections and Mechanics."
- (6th) "The number of stipendary students in this Department is restricted to eight, who will be admitted only with the sanction of the Government."
- (7th) "Scholars from any Government Colleges, if properly qualified, may be transferred to this department, receiving travelling allowance to Roorkee at the established rate. They will there receive besides free quarters, an increase in expenses, or such increase as will make up their stipend to the amount of Rs. 40 per mensem. Properly qualified persons, not attached to any Government College, will receive monthly allowance of Rs. 40 in addition to free quarters."
- (8th) "Candidates for these stipends are desired to submit their ap-

*Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 306 to 309; also Home Public Proceedings, No. 11 of November 7, 1851.

plication to the Principal of the Rookee College, accompanied with certificates of their proficiency in the abovenamed subjects and of character from some one of the officers noted in the margin.* The Principal having satisfied himself of their proficiency in such manner as he may find to be best, will submit his recommendation to the Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces.

- (9th) "Second Department—European Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers. They will be required, previous to the admission, to prove by examination conducted in such manner as the principal may find best, their proficiency in reading, writing and Arithmetic, Elementary Geometry, Mensuration and simple plane drawing. A Certificate of character will also be required from the Commanding or staff officer of the Regiment, troop or Company to which they belong.
- (10th) "Their instruction at the College will be regulated with a view to their employment as overseers in the Department of Public Works, to which they will, when qualified, be transferred, to meet the demands of the service."
- (11th) "Their travelling charges to Roorkee will be paid. They will remain at the College on probation for six months, during which time they will receive, besides free quarters and their Regimental pay, the same advantage as with their Corps, or an equivalent in money. If approved at the end of this period, they will then receive the pay of an Assistant Overseer, and continue under instruction at the College, or be drafted off for the Public service, as may be found advisable. During the time they remain at Roorkee, they will be under the command of the officer who fills the post of Principal of the College."
- (12th) "Their number is not at present to exceed ten."
- (13th) "Third Period—Native youths desirous of instruction in surveying, levelling and plane Drawing. A fair acquaintance with Arithmetic in the Native form, and an ability to read and write Oordoo in the Persian character, will be the qualifications required for admission to this Department."
- (14th) "The number of stipendiary students in this Department will be limited to sixteen, who will receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 5 for maintenance, besides free quarters.
- (15th) "Properly qualified candidates who are willing to come to Roorkee and support themselves there at their own cost, will be admitted into all the Departments so far as means may be available for their instruction. Should the number of such

*Superintending engineer and Executive officers in the Central and North-Western Provinces and Panjab Divisions. Superintending and Executive officers of Canals and roads. Principals of Agra, Delhi and Benares Colleges. vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 309.

applicants be numerous, moderate fees will be hereafter demanded for admission to the benefits of the Institution. Instruction will for the present be gratuitous, and no payments will be demanded without previous notice of one year."

(16th) "Students who have conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the Principal will, on leaving the College, be furnished with a certificate of their character and qualification.

(17th) "Annual examination will be held when all the students attached to the College will be classed according to their proficiency. Prizes of Books, Mathematical Instruments, etc., will be given to the most deserving students."

The Establishment of the College was fixed on the following scale :—

1 Principal staff salary	..	600-0-0
Do. House rent	..	50-0-0
1 Head Master, salary	..	300-0-0
Do. House rent	..	50-0-0
1 Architectural Drawing-Master, Salary	..	200-0-0
1 1st Native Teacher	..	120-0-0
1 2nd ditto ditto	..	50-0-0

1,370-0-0

Scholar's Stipends

8 @ 40 Rs. per mensem	..	320-0-0
16 @ 5 Rs. per mensem	..	80-0-0

400-0-0

General Establishment

2 Chuprassees,	@ 5 Rs. per mensem	10-0-0
3 Tindals (For surveying parties)	@ 5 Rs. per mensem	15-0-0
18 Khalasees, for surveying parties,	@ 4 Rs. per mensem	72-0-0
1 Bearer,	@ 5 Rs. per mensem	5-0-0
1 Choosedar,	@ 5 Rs. per mensem	5-0-0
1 Sweeper	@ 4 Rs. per mensem	4-0-0

111-0-0

For European Barracks

1 Khidmutgar, ... @ 6,	6	0	0
2 Cooks, ... @ 6,	12	0	0
2 Dhobees, ... @ 6,	12	0	0
3 Bhocstees, ... @ 5,	15	0	0
2 Sweepers, ... @ 4,	8	0	0
1 Choosedar, ... @ 5,	5	0	0

580 0 0

APPENDIX L

ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROORKEE COLLEGE BUILDING UP TO JULY 1850*

On account of expense incurred in the construction of the College building	20,952-15- 8
Principal's and Head Master's Bungalow and out-houses	10,492- 8-10
Expenditure on account of furniture for the College	1,614-10- 9
Expenditure on account of pucca well	579- 7- 1
Expenditure on account of Cleaning, building sides, etc.	677-13- 5
Expenditure on account of Constructing College Road and two-arched drain bridges	553- 1- 1
Expenditure on account of Sundry repairs from completion of work to October 31st, 1849	214-11- 6
On account of expense in digging wells in Principal's and Head Master's compound	191-14- 1
	<hr/> 35,277- 2- 5 <hr/>

*Thomason's Despatches. Vol. II. p. 309; also Home Public Proceedings No. 11 of November 7, 1851.

APPENDIX M

Tab. I

ACCOUNT OF THE INFANTRY AND CAVALRY FORCE AND THE EXPENSES OVER THEM*

<i>Infantry</i>	<i>Each</i>	<i>Total</i>
1 Commandant ...	800 0 0	800 0 0
1 Second in Command ...	500 0 0	500 0 0
2 Adjutants, ...	200 0 0	200 0 0
1 Native Adjutant ...	100 0 0	100 0 0
2 Sergeant Majors ..	51 5 2	102 10 4
2 Quarter Master Sergeants	45 5 2	90 10 4
2 Native Doctors ...	15 0 0	30 0 0
27 Tomandars ...	50 0 0	1,350 0 0
270 Havildars ...	12 0 0	3,240 0 0
27 Jemindars ...	30 0 0	810 0 0
540 Naicks ...	8 0 0	4,320 0 0
2160 Sepoys ...	5 0 0	10,800 0 0
27 Bhishtooa, ...	5 0 0	135 0 0
27 Pay Havildars, ...	5 0 0	135 0 0
27 Toman allowance for arms etc. ...	25 0 0	675 0 0
Total per mensem	—	23,488 4 8
<i>Cavalry</i>		
3 Rissaladars ...	70 0 0	210 0 0
3 Jemadars ...	45 0 0	135 0 0
3 Kote Duffadars ...	30 0 0	90 0 0
24 Duffadars ...	25 0 0	600 0 0
300 Sowars ...	18 0 0	5,400 0 0
3 Sulotrees ...	18 0 0	54 0 0
3 Naulbunds ...	18 0 0	54 0 0
Total per mensem	—	6,543 0 0
Bazar Establishment	—	25 0 0
Grand Total per mensem	—	30,056 4 8
or per annum	—	3,60,675 8 0

*Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, Judicial Department, No. 24, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 173-74.

APPENDIX N

Tab. II*

<i>Where Employed</i>	<i>Infantry</i>						<i>Cavalry</i>						
	<i>Tomandars</i>	<i>Jamadar</i>	<i>Havildars</i>	<i>Naicks</i>	<i>Sepoys</i>	<i>Bhishtes</i>	<i>Rissallars</i>	<i>Jamadas</i>	<i>Kote Dufflr</i>	<i>Dufflars</i>	<i>Nalbunds</i>	<i>Sourars</i>	<i>Sulotrees</i>
On civil duties in Banda	5	5	51	116	531	1	0	0	0	2	0	25	0
On civil duties in Humeerpore including													
Culpees... ..	5	6	50	108	505	3	0	1	0	6	0	63	0
On civil duties under Governor-General's Agent	1	3	46	56	425	4	1	1	1	8	1	105	1
At Headquarters or on leave	11	12	114	176	665	19	2	1	2	8	2	108	0
Total	22	26	261	456	2126	27	3	3	3	24	3	301	1

*Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, Judicial Department, No. 24, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 174-175.

APPENDIX O

Tab. III

STATEMENT OF THE COST OF THE PART OF THE FORCE ENGAGED IN THE CIVIL DUTIES OF BANDA AND HAMIRPUR*

	<i>Bandah</i>			<i>Hameerpore</i>		
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pay</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>Pay</i>	
Tomandars,	5	250	0 0	5	250	0 0
Jemadars,	5	150	0 0	6	180	0 0
Havildars,	51	612	0 0	51	600	0 0
Naicks,	116	928	0 0	108	864	0 0
Sepoys,	531	2,655	0 0	505	2,525	0 0
Bhishtees,	1	5	0 0	3	15	0 0
Tomandars of						
Sowars,	0	0	0 0	1	45	0 0
Duffadars,	2	50	0 0	63	1,134	0 0
Total		5,100	0 0	—	5,763	0 0
		5,763	0 0			
Grand Total		10,863	0 0			

*Thomason's Minute on Police Battalions, Judicial Department, No. 24, vide Thomason's Despatches. Vol. I, pp. 174-175.

APPENDIX P

Tab. IV

STATEMENT OF TOTAL DISPOSED OF AND PENDING CASES IN SADAR DIWANI ADALAT DURING 1833 AND 1849 IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES*

<i>Court</i>	<i>Cases for the Year</i>		<i>Disposed of</i>		<i>Pending at the End of the Year</i>	
	<i>1833</i>	<i>1849</i>	<i>1833</i>	<i>1849</i>	<i>1833</i>	<i>1849</i>
1. Sadar Diwani Adalats,	1,756	356	213	207	1,543	149
2. Principal Courts,	1,863	—	224	—	10	—
3. Judges Courts,	—	9,924	—	3,822	—	1,979
4. City and Zilla Judges,	22,919	—	3,619	—	6,895	—
5. Commissioner, Superintendent of Hill Stations,	—	4,470	—	2,219	—	1,206
6. Principal Sadar Amins,	7,494	8,185	4,028	6,158	2,634	1,735
7. Sadar Amins,	9,888	13,725	6,132	1,024	1,225	3,389
8. Munsifs,	46,727	71,035	30,986	55,888	13,836	13,083
TOTAL	89,847	1,07,695	45,202	78,418	26,143	21,541

*Commons, First Report, 1852-53, Vol. XXVII, Appendix-3, p. 411.

APPENDIX Q

Tab. V

STATEMENT OF THE EXTENT AND VOLUME OF ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE*

<i>Court</i>	<i>Persons under trial</i>	<i>Persons convicted</i>	<i>Persons Acquitted</i>	<i>Cases Pending</i>
1. Sadar Nizamat Adalat,	664	552	65	49
2. Sessions Judges,	5,254	2,751	1,278	1,205
3. Magistrates, Joint and Assistant, and Indian Judges,	85,463	45,863	32,842	6,758
Total				
Year 1849 :	91,383	49,166	34,185	8,032
Year 1833 :	41,208	17,720	21,398	2,515

*Chailey, Administrative Problems of British India, p. 435.

APPENDIX R

Tab. VI

STATEMENT OF THE MOFUSSIL POLICE ESTABLISHMENT*

No.	Designation of offices	AGRA		MEERUT		GORAKHPUR		BANARAS		MORADABAD		BAREILLY		ALLAHABAD	
		No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay	No.	Pay
1.	Kotwals and Thanadars	18	525	16	475	25	995	9	300	20	660	15	620	23	556
2.	Naibs and Mohurrirs	31	258	27	192	25	354	35	692	42	283	34	353	24	183
3.	Jamindars	33	269	75	575	30	283	57	412	12	300	20	178	52	374
4.	Sepoys	248	1192	"	"	"	"	7	14	26	156	68	410	1	8
5.	Sowars	41	806	53	991	39	730	8	138	10	736	66	1239	7	120
6.	Burkundauzes	602	2408	590	2360	120	1716	491	1976	513	2052	500	2000	473	1892
7.	Stationary	"	268	"	173	"	200	"	"	"	139	"	152	"	139
Total		976	3726	761	4730	548	4278	610	3787	683	4386	703	4952	580	3281
Deduct the total of lines 4, 5 and 7 ...		292	2266	53	1128	39	930	15	207	66	1031	131	1801	8	276
Remainder		684	3460	708	3602	509	3348	595	3580	617	3355	569	3151	572	3005

*Thornton to Lowther, dated the 18th November, 1851 No. 4659, Document No. 50; vide Thomson's Despatches. Vol. II, p. 208.

APPENDIX S

Tab. VII

THE STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF THANAS AND THEIR JURISDICTION IN 1851 IN THE NORTH- WESTERN PROVINCES*

<i>District</i>	<i>No. of Thanas</i>	<i>Average population of each Thana</i>	<i>Average area of each Thana jurisdiction in sq. miles.</i>
Meerut ...	16	53,296	145.7
Moradabad ...	20	49,868	148.3
Bareilly ...	15	76,244	195.8
Allahabad ...	23	30,881	121.8

*Thornton to Lowther, dated 18th November, 1851, No. 4059, Document No. 50, vide Thomason's Despatches, Vol. II, p. 209.

APPENDIX T

THE FORT WILLIAM OBITUARY NOTIFICATION

"FORT WILLIAM—HOME DEPARTMENT

"The 3rd October, 1853.

"NOTIFICATION—The Most Noble of the Governor of India in Council is deeply grieved to announce the decease of the Honourable James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces.

"The Lieutenant-Governor has long since earned for himself a name, which ranks him high among the most distinguished servants of the Honourable East India Company.

"Conspicuous ability, devotion to the public service, and a conscientious discharge of every duty, have marked each step of his honourable course: While his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, his benevolence of character and suavity of demeanour, have adorned and exalted the high position which he was wisely selected to fill.

"The Governor-General in Council deploras his loss with a sorrow deep and unfeigned,—with sorrow aggravated by the regret that his career should have thus been untimely closed, when all had hoped that opportunities for extended usefulness were still before him, and that fresh honour might be added to his name.

"The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council directs that the flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute guns shall be fired at the respective seats of Government of India so soon as the present Notification shall have been there received.¹

"By order of the Governor-General of India in Council."

"GEO. PLOWDEN

"Officiating Secretary to the Government of India."

1. The Governor-General's tribute paid to the memory of the Lieutenant-Governor was peculiar while directing this honour to be shown at each of the seats of Government. vide Home Public Consultations No. 45 of October 7, 1853.

APPENDIX U

COURT OF DIRECTORS PROCEEDINGS ON THE APPOINTMENT OF SIR JAMES THOMASON AS THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS:

Court of Directors

11th September, 1853.

"Resolved by the ballot unanimously that James Thomason Esquire, at present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, be appointed Governor of Madras."

APPENDIX V

INDIA BOARD'S LETTER COMMUNICATING THOMASON'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF MADRAS :

India Board,
28th September, 1853.

Gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction to inform you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify her approbation of the appointment of James Thomason Esquire at present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, to the office of Governor of Fort St. George.

I have, etc.,¹
(sd.) C. WOOD.

1. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, p. 186.

APPENDIX W

H. M. COMMAND'S DECLARATION OF THOMASON'S GOVERNORSHIP OF MADRAS

THE CHAIRS.

Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

Whereas our Commissioners for the affairs of India have represented unto us that the Court of Directors of the East India Company have nominated our trusty and well-beloved James Thomason Esquire to the office of Governor of the Presidency of Fort St. George in the East Indies, and the Governor of Fort St. George, now we, taking the same into our Royal consideration, do hereby, in virtue of the powers in us vested by law, signify our approbation of the appointment of the said James Thomason to the said office accordingly.

Given at our Court at Balmoral this 27th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three and in the sixteenth year of our Reign.

By H. M. Command.¹

1. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

APPENDIX X

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST'S APPRAISAL OF JAMES THOMASON

"I made the acquaintance of Mr. James Thomason when he was Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department in 1843. I was his guest at Agra in Government House in June, 1844, and there I became aware of his remarkable character, and conceived that love and respect for him, which exists to this day. I was struck by his holy demeanour, his teachings on revenue matters, his conversation about canals, popular education and Christian missions. In 1845 he was in his camp, and I accompanied him in his march through the Cis-Sutlej States. As at Agra, so in camp, I was deeply impressed with his mild wisdom and interesting conversation. On my return from England in 1852, I was placed at his disposal, and I went up to Agra to stay with him. I had gained in knowledge and experience since 1844, and could more fully appreciate his administrative wisdom and sweet character.

"Among the many great Indian statesmen, with whom during my twenty-five years in India I came into contact, I place him very high indeed. He was devoid of personal ambition. He had no special gift of eloquence, and never published any literary work. But he systematized the Revenue system of the North-Western Provinces, and improved every branch of the administration. He also set the example to the newly conquered province of the Punjab, which was managed from the first of his favourite subalterns, Lawrence, Montgomery, Macleod, Barnes, Edward Thornton, who were in their full maturity, and by a succession of younger men, who had learnt their lesson from him, had been the recipients of all friendly notice, and made his holy life their great example. In 1888 I dedicated to his memory a volume of my notes of Missionary subjects, as one 'who taught me my lesson'."

BY ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.¹

1. Temple, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

APPENDIX Y*

Calcutta, October 3, 1843.

My dear Lawrence,

I find yours of August 30...has been unanswered, but most neglected. The accounts came to us wind up in the Civil Auditor's Report with Major Machhins. The lead before passed them and have now desired the civil auditor to keep your's separate any delay or difficulty about them on referring to the aud. Gen. so Edward's assures me, who has that branch of the work peculiarly in his hands. But.... men of audit and account are very difficult to deal with. If you do find any further.... to adjustment pray write do what I can.

I hope you like your appointment in Nepal. I happen to know that Lord Ellenborough selected you for it, in a great measure, because he hoped the climate would agree with you and enable you to stay in the country. If all the speeches you and he have made regarding each noted down, whose would read best. With soundest regards to your excellent wife.

Believe me
Yours very sincerely,
Thomason.

I shall hope to be at Agra on or about Nov. 15. Is there any possibility of our meeting?

*MSS EUR F. 85/26. Henry Lawrence Collection, India Office Library, London.

APPENDIX Z*

Thomason
Agra, May 1, 1813.

My dear Lawrence,

I have received yours of the 27th. It is better that I should say at once that it is intended you should have charge of . . . , and that you should not at present have more . . . 1000 Rs. It is not for me to discuss whether it would or would not be reasonable for you to expect more. But it is . . . to what becomes you as a Public Servant, and what is most for your own interests. I trust that you will cheerfully and zealously perform your duty in this post and . . . your time. I can only say that you at present stand very well at Head Quarters, and that you have a sincere friend there watching any opportunity to further your interest. Disinterestedness and public spirit on this occasion may do you much good; any hasty or impetuous action will greatly prejudice your cause, and put it out of the . . . Interest you tell further-put a bridle on your words as well as your action. Tell your grievances to your wife, but to no one else. Do not call yourself, or affect to consider yourself an aggrieved person. Do I ask too much? I hope not. By neglecting my advice you can gain nothing. By following it you may gain every thing. Await a reference to . . . or at least delay 24 hours, before you determine to act, as you limit in your letter is your intention.

Capt. Riddell informed me of James Montgomery . . . own . . . to him has been often acknowledged and will never be forgotten. I had hoped to have been able to further his interests, and to obtain some recognition of his public services. But God has seen fit that it should be otherwise and has reserved to himself. The immediate determination on his merits I trust this regard is the higher and more complete. May it not lead us, when we are pressing for world by advancement to pause and think how we should stand if summoned before an Omniscient Ruler.

(Sd.) Thomason.

* MSS EUR F. 85/26 Henry Lawrence Collection. India Office Library, London.

GLOSSARY

Asadh	: The fourth month of the Indian calendar.
Baisakh	: The second month of the Indian calendar.
Bania	: Grocers.
Barkandaz	: Soldiers wielding matchlock.
Beegha	: A measure of a third of an acre.
Biswadar	: Owner of a part in the village.
Chowki (Chauki)	: A watch-house; a guards post; a custom house.
Chowkidar (Chaukidar)	: A watchman.
Coolie	: Porter.
Cotwal (Kotwal)	: Highest police officer of the city.
Fasly (Fasli)	: Agricultural year.
Halka (Halqa)	: Circle.
Havildar	: A petty officer in an Indian army or armed police.
Hurkara	: A runner; a fore-runner; a carrier; a post-man.
Jakur	: Document.
Jamadar	: A petty official of an Indian army.
Jeyth (Jyeshth)	: The third month of the Indian calendar.
Jheel	: Lake.
Jareeb	: Measuring rope for the measurement of land.
Kanoongo (Qanungo)	: A superintendent of Patwari's village papers.
Kartik	: The eighth month of the Indian calendar.
Kham-land	: It is a particular measure of land. Three khams is equal to one beegha pukhta.
Khareef	: A crop which is reaped in autumn.
Khasra	: Field register.
Kist	: Instalment.
Kos	: A distance of two miles.

Kankar	: Stone ballasts.
Madrassa	: A school.
Mahajan	: A money-dealer; a banker.
Mahal (Mohal)	: A ward comprising many villages; Estate.
Malgoozari	: Land revenue.
Malgoozars	: Land-holders; payers of revenue.
Misal (Misls)	: Files.
Mofussil	: The suburb of a town.
Muharrir	: A scribe; a clerk.
Munsif	: A Judge.
Mauzah	: Village.
Mauroosi	: Hereditary.
Nadi	: River.
Nazim	: Head of a district who has very wide executive and judicial powers.
Nizāmat Adalat :	: Civil court.
Nallah	: A ravine; a canal; a rivulet.
Paimanah	: A scale of equal parts.
Panchayat	: Village assembly; arbitration.
Pargana	: An area composed of a number of villages.
Patwari	: A person who keeps a record of villages.
Pukka (Pucka)	: Metalled; strong; ripe.
Rajbaha	: Main irrigation lines.
Risaldar	: An officer of Indian infantry.
Rissalahs	: A troop of horses.
Sadar Ameen	: Chief revenue collector.
Sarais	: Inns.
Sayer rights	: Levies other than land revenue.
Serishtadar (Mahafiz Daftar)	: A head officer of a court in India, the superintendent of a vernacular office in Indian court.
Shajrah	: Field maps.
Sawars	: Horsemen.
Tahsil	: The office or court of a Tehsildar or collector of revenue; sub-division of a district.
Tahsildar	: Collector of revenue.
Taluqdar	: Possessor of an estate.
Thana	: A police station.
Thanadar	: An officer of Thana.

Toman	: Ten thousand; a corps of ten thousand.
Tomandar	: Commander of a Toman or ten thousand soldiers.
Baramdah	: Verandah.
Zilla	: District.

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(a) Lawrence Papers, India Office Library, London.* Most of the material drawn from the microfilm copies of the following unpublished private correspondence between Sir James Thomason and Henry and John Lawrence.

Henry Lawrence Collection :

(i) Letters from Sir James Thomason to Henry Lawrence :

	I. No.	Date
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	21	3 December. 1836.
	21	16 December, 1836.
	21	January, 1837.
	21	3 June, 1837.
	21	23 June, 1837.
	21	19 September, 1837.
	21	15 May, 1838.
	21	7 August. 1838.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	24	10 April. 1841.
	24	22 June, 1841.
	24	5 November, 1841.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	26	1 May, 1843.
	26	15 August, 1843.
	26	16 September, 1843.
	26	3 October, 1843.

MSS. EUR. F. 85/	28	18 November, 1843
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	29	29 December, 1845.
	29	30 January, 1846.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	30	20 October, 1846.
	30	7 May, 1847.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	32	17 July, 1847.
	32	14 March, 1849.
	32	29 June, 1849.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	35	23 December, 1852
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	36	16 February, 1853.
	36	10 March, 1853.
	36	20 April, 1853.

(ii) Letters from Henry Lawrence to Sir James Thomason

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	6	8 July, 1847.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	8	9 March, 1847.
	8	10 March, 1847.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	9	25 February, 1850.
	9	13 April, 1850.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	11B	19 July, 1851.
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	11B	13 February, 1852.
MSS. EUR. F. 85/	14	4 March, 1853.
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	14	2 April, 1853.
	14	8 April, 1853.
	14	20 May, 1853.
	14	24 June, 1853.
	14	8 July, 1853.

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(b) Sir John Walter Sherer's Private Letters to his wife Louisa Sherer and his friend Henry. These letters are preserved in the Central Records Office at Allahabad.

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